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EDITORIAL

It is too frequently assumed that progress in modern Criminology can best be measured by the advances made in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, sociology and penal administration. This would leave out of account one of the most practical standards, namely, the state of diplomatic relations existing between social psychiatry and the law. Unless a reasonable degree of harmony and mutual understanding prevails between those who administer the law and those whose duty it is to study the disordered mentality and disrupted social background of some offenders, there is little prospect that scientific advances in criminology will be adequately reflected in our judicial systems. In the past the relations between psychiatry and the law were, to say the least of it, clouded by an atmosphere of mutual distrust, which indeed has not yet been fully dissipated. Chief amongst its sources of this distrust came the uneasy feeling in legal circles that the psychiatrist's interest in his patient might lead him to ignore the question of criminal responsibility, that in short, the psychiatrist was either a crank or a sentimentalist or both. The psychiatrist, on the other hand, tended to feel that his professional efforts were obstructed by a conservative reaction on the part of the bench, an attitude which, in the case of psychological diagnosis, seemed at times to border on hostility if not open derision.

One of the simplest methods of estimating progress in this particular direction is to study the present form of psychiatric Court reports and to observe the varying reactions of the bench to these documents. In his article on this issue, Peter Scott has given a well-informed and dispassionate review of this subject from the point of view of the psychiatrist, and we hope at some future date to supplement this with an equally balanced presentation from the judicial angle. In the meantime it may be observed that the onus of producing a report which is at the same time accurate, helpful and

comprehensible, lies at present a little too heavily on the shoulders of the psychiatric specialist. As Dr. Scott points out, the psychiatrist, in his anxiety to produce a document that can be understood by the intelligent layman, can very easily be led into over-simplification and thereby leave the door open to misunderstanding. The ultimate issue is therefore not whether psychiatrists can write reports, but whether magistrates can be trained to read them.

It would, of course, be unreasonable to expect that magistrates should undergo a full training in modern psychiatry; but it is not unreasonable to require that they should supplement the intelligent layman's somewhat garbled and exiguous knowledge of psychology with at least the same degree of orientation which is now generally demanded of probation officers and other social workers in delinquency. At the very least, he should know enough to be able to protect the offender from the more exaggerated forms of psychiatric bias, should these present themselves in the report. It is not enough to depend on robust commonsense, invaluable as this natural form of judgment undoubtedly is. Psychiatrists are too readily accused of a lack of this commodity when, in many instances, the apparent incongruities of the report merely reflect the peculiarities of the offender. The most obvious feature of delinquent conduct, although one which is frequently regarded as a sign of perversity rather than of disorder, is precisely its lack of common sense. Already the intelligent layman is willing to concede that the delusions of the insane are due not to lack of common sense but to a defect in that mental faculty which goes by the name of 'reality proving'. What the magistrates must be led to realize is that behind the mask of apparent perversity, the psychopath, for example, suffers from an inhibited or distorted development of his reality sense. Our relatively greater understanding of juvenile delinquency is due not simply to our appreciation of the tender age of the offender but to the fact that we do not expect the child to exhibit the same sense of reality and value as the grown-up.

The enquiry of Batchelor and Napier, appearing in this Number attempts to analyze the concept of the 'broken home' in its relationship to suicide; in so doing they have raised an important social problem running in time from childhood stress to the ultimate act of suicide which is both a social gesture and a reaction to internal mental stress. We may well ask how satisfactory is the term 'broken home'. The dramatic cleavages in home life expressed in separation, divorce or death, tend to mask the more insidious factors which lie at the bottom of family inter-personal relationships. The life space of the primary human group is made up of forces of love and hostility, comparable to a complex magnetic field or a topological system which becomes, it is true,

more obvious as regards its defective structure when open breaches occur. Within this field, it is impossible to assess the quantitative influence of each of the family members. The child-mother relationship has been perhaps given undue prominence and the figures presented in this article show very clearly that the role of the father is not nearly as insignificant as some recent researches presuppose.

Psychopathology, however, brings home to us that the unconscious forces which occasion attractions and repulsions, are much more potent for happiness and unhappiness than are the opening of chasms between the parents into which unhappy children fall. The figures presented by the authors show how much of the fine grained relationships are involved, even where the larger breaches occur which warrant the use of the term ' broken home '.

Durkheim and Halbwachs have shown how the social milieu acts in selecting for suicide. We may find eventually that the milieu must possess certain qualities which incubate the latent disposition to self-destruction. These social factors must somehow or other be linked with unconscious tensions such as Ego—Super Ego conflicts, the arrested development of the latter, and such disturbances of sexual maturation at the Oedipus phase which deeper tensions set-up. As the writers pointedly state, much remains to be done by psychology and sociology, working together.

In our July issue we commented on the fact that whereas the clinical (psychiatric) contributions to this Journal were few and far between, we were in the fortunate position of having a satisfactory number of social, educational and institutional studies from which to choose. We now publish a therapeutic study carried out at an Experimental School designed to influence and educate intelligent offenders of an age varying from fourteen to eighteen years.

A noteworthy feature of this and of similar articles which have been submitted to us is the emphasis laid on the impact of the pedagogic situation, not merely on the children but on the staff of the institutions concerned. It seems to be generally agreed that when dealing with the children's emotional problems a prerequisite of success is elasticity in the handling of crises ; and it is satisfactory to find a growing consensus of feeling that such handling call for emotional elasticity on the part of the pedagogue.

PSYCHIATRIC REPORTS FOR MAGISTRATES' COURTS

By PETER D. SCOTT (LONDON)

Whether or not a practising psychiatrist has a particular interest in forensic matters, he will sooner or later find himself required to report upon one of his cases to a court of law. The report may have far reaching consequences; it may be the factor which determines whether a juvenile is taken from his home, or an adult sent to prison; it may do good or it may do harm.

The very fact that the bench has asked for a report generally means that the case is unusual, puzzling, recalcitrant, and that a need is felt for deeper understanding of it. The request is in fact an appeal for expert assistance, and a week or so is allowed for an attempt to investigate a human problem. It is an opportunity which may not occur again.

The commonest errors of the psychiatric student lie in two directions. First, preoccupied with an interesting new therapeutic problem, he may fail to appreciate that the court also has certain responsibilities both to the offender and to the public, and content himself with a brief statement that 'Blank was examined to-day and has been asked to attend regularly on Mondays at 2.0 p.m.' Hardly a document which a probation officer could hand to the bench, and not the best way of ensuring that the patient will find himself able to attend as requested; furthermore, it is unwittingly a discourtesy to the magistrate or probation officer who asked for the report. Or, on the other hand, the psychiatrist, clinging to the hard-won habits of his training, may astonish the court, as well as unnecessarily revealing information given in confidence, by ploughing meticulously through the routine psychiatric history from 'reason for reference' to a well rounded psychiatric diagnosis.

There is evidently a technique to be used when writing a psychiatric report for the court and, in mastering it, we may review what the magistrates themselves have to say on the subject.

Claud Mullins (1944a), a prolific and exceptionally well-informed writer, asks that technicalities should be paraphrased and also gives other useful advice, e.g., 'those writing reports for the use of the bench would be well advised to confine themselves to conclusions and general theory and to give only such explanation as can be understood without deep know-

ledge of psycho-analytical theory'. 'Nor', he continues, 'is it desirable that psychologists should give a full reason for their conclusions . . . studied moderation is necessary if cases are to be explained to the courts'. It is clear however from what he says elsewhere (1948a) that he hopes to receive 'the fullest possible report'.

Sir Leo Page (1948a) warns the psychiatrist to keep to his own sphere and not to take sides in legal matters. 'Both the psychiatrist and the probation officer should be regarded, and should regard themselves, as independent experts, who are there to assist the court and so the administration of justice. Their reports should be records of constructive social studies of persons in whom the question of guilt is incidental'. He points out that the judge 'should be familiar with the nature and potentialities for good or for evil of each of the punishments at his disposal' and asks that the court 'should be fully informed of the details and the circumstances both of the offence and the offender'. No doubt he would have agreed that details of the offence, as opposed to interpretation of their significance and description of their context, are a matter for the prosecution rather than the psychiatrist.

Sometimes, though not so often as formerly, a judge or magistrate will object to a psychiatrist writing 'I advise that . . .' or 'recommend that . . .' This may seem unreasonable or pedantic and may be a source of perplexity to the psychiatric witness, but there is a reason for such an objection. Sir Leo Page (1948b) explains that an 'independent expert' would be right in reporting that in his opinion the prisoner would respond to certain measures but would be wrong if he went so far as to recommend these measures: 'difficulties would arise if he (the judge) saw fit to disregard the advice given to him by an official who was appointed specifically to advise'. (He does not state what difficulties would arise.) It is, then, sometimes better to say that certain treatment may be helpful, rather than that it is recommended or advised. It is of course important to avoid giving the impression that the decision of the court is presumed. This can lead to a curious, almost traditional, way of expressing recommendations, of which the following is a good example:—Mullins (1948b) quotes a report received from the prison staff—'"Blank is physically and mentally fit for Borstal training, if the magistrate considers that a period of supervision by a probation officer is not suitable". That meant, in plain language, "You can get him sent to Borstal if you must, but we think you are wrong". That was very helpful and made the probation officers and myself think again. The prison staff were usually right.' Is it just possible that in most cases both the bench and the doctors tolerate this obliquity for each other's sakes, and that both would be glad to drop it?

Concerning reports to juvenile courts, the chairman of the East-London juvenile court (Henriques 1951) expects his psychiatric advisors to take 'the trouble to find out exactly the powers of the court and the kind of information required'.[1] If nothing constructive can be suggested, he (the psychiatrist) is to say so, 'and if he has not been able adequately to diagnose the case he is to ask for a further remand'. The Children & Young Persons Act (1933) allows the court to make a remand for a period up to three weeks; if the psychiatrist feels that, in the interest of the child, a longer remand is required, he should write to the presiding magistrate or clerk of the court concerned, stating his request and the reasons for it. The same applies in adult courts. (C.J.A. 1948, Secn. 26 (i).)

From other magistrates of metropolitan and provincial juvenile courts the following points have been gathered: A brief report is generally preferred, but a lengthy one will be tolerated when the case is obviously a difficult one, and when the information is relevant and not already available from other sources; the reports of probation officers are sometimes much plagiarized. Some magistrates who do not customarily paraphrase or read out the reports to the parents, feel that the parents or child may become unduly anxious while waiting for a long report to be digested by, and perhaps handed about among, the members of the bench. Nearly all expect a definite opinion as to what should be done for the child, and earnestly hope that it will be within the bounds of practicability.

Magistrates have pointed out that psychiatrists should not necessarily feel that their advice has not been appreciated when their recommendations are not followed, because new factors, administrative or otherwise, often reveal themselves at the last moment and make a different course of action inevitable; indeed, magistrates may 'have practical and weighty reasons for not following some of the recommendations of behaviour clinics, or for modifying them in individual cases'. (S. & E. Glueck 1934).

Pleas for simple language in reports and for the avoidance of technicalities, of the abstruse and the conjectural, are commonly heard. Magistrates take legitimate delight in recounting such oddities as 'congenital convergent strabismus' (Mullins 1944b). 'It would be so helpful to us magistrates if some of you psychiatrists would use simple language. I had a report some time ago about a boy who was said to suffer from "blepharospasms". I asked my colleagues if they knew what it meant and they shook their heads. I asked the clerk but he said he did not know

[1] References which will help the psychiatrist in finding out this information are: Morrison (1947) for reference only; Eddy (1947); Giles (1949); Fry (1950); Watson (1950); H.M.S.O. 1946, 1946, 1950, 1952; East & Hubert (1939).

either. The probation officer had no idea what it meant and the L.C.C. were equally at a loss. Eventually I asked the boy himself but he had no idea from what fell disease he was suffering. So eventually we had to ignore the doctor's finding and went ahead and put the boy on probation. Just as he was leaving the court one of my colleagues said to me "Have you noticed how that boy blinks"? "There you are", I said, "blepharospasms"!' (Watson 1951).

Other terms that have understandably caused consternation are migrainous diathesis, castration complex, Electra complex, tyrannical superego, schizoid personality, the alpha is dominant, n.a.d., e.e.g., p.s.w., and many more.

Two quotations, one old and one recent, may underline this important point. An offender should be excused 'only on grounds capable of being understood by the commonest and most vulgar minds' (Stephen 1883), for, after all, the argument will not be followed if the language is not understood; and 'It is regrettable that psychiatric and psychological reports are frequently couched in terms which are quite unintelligible to a layman, and indeed are sometimes incomprehensible even to medical colleagues' (Charles 1949); the same writer goes on to say that 'incomprehensible jargon' leads to disrepute of the writer. 'Finally, magistrates may suspect, with reason in some cases, that technical verbiage may be hiding lack of experience or unwillingness to admit defeat. It is probably a sound principle both in Law and Psychiatry where there is so much technical language, that any view which cannot be put into plain English is quite likely not to be a sound one'. (Kennedy 1948).

On the other hand it has been pointed out to me that it is possible to simplify language too far when dealing with so complex a subject. To some extent lawyers must learn our vocabulary as we learn theirs. Depressed is not the same as unhappy, nor anxious the same as afraid, nor melancholia the same as sadness.

Certain indefinite terms or epithets such as 'unstable' and 'immature' should not be used without qualification, for they mean little or nothing, and the juvenile court magistrate may be justified in supposing that all his cases are to some extent unstable and certainly immature.

Some highly charged words should be avoided if possible, remembering that, if the report is read out in open court, it will be odd words and phrases rather than the sense of the report as a whole which will be grasped by the delinquent and his harassed and perhaps not very well educated parents; these expressions may be carried away to remain a source of shame, or worry, even though they might only have been mentioned in the report to be negatived. After a talk with the worried mother

of a delinquent girl it was appreciated that 'She is free from venereal disease' would have been better expressed as 'The gynecologist reports that there is no evidence of specific infections'.

Other terms which should be used with caution are: mental deficiency, heredity, illegitimate, divorce, thrashings, unwanted. Children may not know the details of their origin or the relationship between their parents and the court is not a good place for them to be instructed. When giving oral evidence a psychiatrist may request the bench, if he feels it is in the child's interests, to require the child or his parents to withdraw from the court-room (Summary Jurisdiction (Ch. & Y.P.) Rules 1933. R. II. v.). Parents may not have told each other about the facts of their personal or family histories and, unless it is vitally necessary, the report should not disclose such matters. It is natural for guilt-laden parents, painfully aware of failure, to seek to blame something or someone, and it would be unfortunate if a rift were made or widened between parents through a tactless report. It cannot be assumed that the parent who attended the child's first court appearance and who perhaps was the one to give the facts to the psychiatrist, will necessarily be the parent who attends at the second appearance and hears the report read aloud.

Relevant to this question of undesirable terms is Claud Mullins' (1948c) paragraph 'I have often wished that a better name could be found for "illegitimate". To speak of a "bastard child", which is their legal name, is horrible. Sometimes they are called "natural" children, but that is not suitable, for plenty of animals and birds behave better than human beings. "Love child" is sometimes used, but that debases the word "love".' Which shows that tactless reports may offend magistrates as well as delinquents and parents. The word 'extra-marital' is sometimes useful if not euphonious, but it is usually possible to give the information without the use of any such term. Thus 'This boy is illegitimate and has always been rejected by his mother' might have been more happily put as 'His mother's anomalous situation at the time of his conception appears to have affected her feelings toward him ever since'.

It is quite in order, when the report is to reveal some important but unpleasant fact, which is unknown to the child, to state early in the report that this is so and that his mother, for example, does not wish the child to be informed; every court would respect such a request. An experienced probation officer tells me that any security instructions of this nature should be in block capitals, underlined, in double spacing, typed right across the top of the report and initialled by the signatory.

Stapleton-Cotton (1949) asked that the source of information and the names of the people interviewed should be stated in the report. It is also

advisable, and fair to the offender, to state in a difficult case how long has been spent with him.

Facts, as far as possible, must be separated from inferences, interpretations and opinions, and the demarcation indicated.

A frequent criticism made by magistrates and probation officers is that the psychiatrist is too credulous. This is sometimes unjust; the psychiatrist may have seen the true significance of a child's statements and may have quoted them as a true indication of the child's mode of thinking rather than as a true indication of external realities. This he is quite justified in doing; but of course the conclusion to be drawn should be indicated. An almost invariable finding in delinquents of any age is a degree of aggressiveness expressed outwardly as action rather than inwardly as unhappiness or other symptoms. This action often finds expression in words and may be seen in purest culture in the scandal-monger, the writer of 'poison-pen' letters, the exhibitionist who hurls abuse at his victim either in the act of exposing himself to her or instead of doing so, in those who get perverted satisfaction by ringing someone on the telephone and using insulting language. It also occurs in children, especially those who have themselves experienced aggressiveness and especially if the aggressiveness alternated inconsistently with over-solicitude. It is as though such children have been so successful in working off their aggression through accusations against parents, schoolfolk or colleagues, that they are able to appear between-whiles as charming and innocent. Though such accusations may be manifestly untrue, yet, on deeper investigation, it is not uncommon to find someone (by no means necessarily the victim of the accusations), perhaps in the distant background, who has provoked the child's actions and makes them to some extent understandable. Therefore it is advisable not only to prefix 'he says that' before a child's statements, but to give an assessment of reliability.

> The report upon a girl of 12 who told of cruelty from her parents, included the following: 'She says, with great composure, that she has been treated very badly at home, and she gives elaborate but not very consistent instances of assaults that have been made upon her. When looking at some picture-cards she made up stories in which horrific deeds were attributed to the characters depicted there . . . Her statements are not considered reliable but indicate quite clearly that her motives for this sort of behaviour need further investigation and treatment'.

Much harm can be done by the psychiatrist who, in his report, attributes all the difficulties to parental mishandling. The magistrate, if he accepts the opinion, may feel it is his duty to censure the mother, which, even if it is justified, may discourage her, embitter her, and perhaps spoil a chance

of gaining her co-operation in subsequent treatment. And in some circumstances a parent would have to be a veritable genius, and devote all her time to one child, in order to prevent its delinquency. The point was well made by Foxe (1948): 'To-day psychiatrists at times "attack" parents very much as demons were attacked in the Middle Ages, but with less venom'.

There is a naive tendency, perhaps encouraged by nicely predigested psychological features of radio, weekly columnists, 'educational' films, to tie up behaviour problems in neat bundles of cause and effect, which does not do justice to the endless variety and complication of human motivations, and bewilders, antagonises or engenders such feelings of inadequacy in the well meaning parent as must detract from what powers she may possess for observing and puzzling out the problem of her own child.

Mullins in his Maudsley Lecture 'Psychiatry in Criminal Courts' (1948d), and elsewhere, has encouraged psychiatrists not to be timid 'The time is overdue' he said 'when they should go further than giving information when required to do so'. Most psychiatrists would agree and perhaps remember instances in which a particular case made them burn with zeal for reformation. But the point is that this zeal must not appear in their report to court; reformations and innovations in such an emotionally loaded field as criminology or penology always call out hard resistance; so that the report may well cause a back-wash which may swamp the best interests of the offender. There are better media for such efforts, laudable and necessary as they may be.

Similarly a psychiatrist may sometimes feel that a delinquent has been mishandled in his school or in some part of the complicated machinery of his treatment, and there may be the temptation to expose this defect there and then in the report to court. Even if the facts have been most carefully checked this is most unwise and unfair to the delinquent. Better by far to write separately to the authority concerned. If the need is felt to bring the matter to the notice of the magistrates, it can be done through the Magistrates' Association, or through an official or unofficial visit to the magistrate concerned. The juvenile court constitutes a point of contact between a great many different powers, the Home Office, the Education and Children's Department of the Local Authority, the National Health Service, voluntary organizations and the legal profession; it is not a good or effective arena for settling differences of opinion aroused by a rash report.

Sooner or later a case will be encountered upon which a colleague has already reported. In these circumstances, particularly if new facts or different opinions emerge, it is advisable to discuss the matter with the colleague and to come to a joint decision which may then be reported in the form 'we are of the opinion that'.

Occasionally reports are seen which give almost as much information, between the lines, about the author as about the offender; moral judgements, signs of irritability, exasperation or sentimentality invalidate the report.

Forensic psychiatry will not develop significantly unless it supplies a useful, reliable service to criminals and criminal courts. It is essentially through such service that it has the opportunity of building up sufficient confidence among lawyers and the general public, to give weight to its wider recommendations and teaching. Every sound report and successful therapeutic effort is bound to increase that confidence and every bungle to decrease it.

The ethical position of the psychiatrist in this work presents very real difficulties, as it does for other members of his team, for instance the psychiatric social worker (who interviews the parents of a juvenile delinquent) and the psychologists who make their full reports available to the psychiatrist. And the difficulties are if anything made greater by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. Section 4 of this act states that if a court is satisfied on the evidence of a duly qualified medical practitioner, appearing to the court to be experienced in the diagnosis of mental disorders, that an offender requires, and may be susceptible to, treatment and is not suitable for certification under the Lunacy or Mental Deficiency Acts, then, if it makes a probation order it may include therein *a requirement* that the offender shall submit for a period of not longer than twelve months, to treatment, not only as an outpatient but, if specified, within an institution under Section 1 of the Mental Treatment Act of 1930. All this, it will be appreciated, throws very definite responsibilities on the medical practitioner and may possibly undermine the doctor-patient relationship and even materially change the implication of the term 'voluntary patient'. This has not escaped the notice of such critics as F. M. R. Walshe (1950) who writes: 'by the terms of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, the State has made the psychiatrist an official participant in the administration of the law, and in a manner which gives him a dangerous latitude in his treatment of certain offenders before the courts who are certifiable neither as mental defectives nor as persons of unsound mind'. Edward Glover (1944) writes 'Psychological diagnosis and treatment (or prevention) of social derangement, and psychological assessment of normal individuals in the interests of the State, are "clear different things". The utmost vigilance is necessary to prevent psychological specialists exercising authority over the lives of normal individuals'.

Against these possible dangers the individual offender has two safeguards, both appearing in the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. Section 3 (5)

states that before making a probation order the court *shall* explain to the offender *in ordinary language* the effect of the order (including any additional requirements proposed to be inserted therein . . .), and if the offender is not less than fourteen years of age the court shall not make the order *unless he expresses his willingness to comply* with the requirements thereof. And Section 4 (7) states that the medical practitioner's written report upon the mental condition of any person shall not be received unless the person to whom it relates consents or, where that person is under seventeen years of age, unless his parent or guardian consents. Furthermore, Section 4 (8) affords the individual or his parent or guardian an opportunity to call rebutting evidence to such a report.

The psychiatrist is therefore entitled to expect that, before any case comes to him from court, consent for a written report has been given, and further, that (provided the patient is not certifiable under the Lunacy or Mental Deficiency Acts, and is over fourteen years of age) before any condition of attendance either as an out-patient or in-patient can be made, the patient will have had the matter explained to him in simple language and will have voluntarily agreed to such measures being applied. But, of course, the offender's knowledge of the likely alternatives will very much modify his decision and perhaps alter the meaning of 'voluntary' beyond recognition.

And it must be remembered that if, having agreed to a probation order in court (and juveniles are sometimes asked 'Will you promise' to do this, that, or the other) the offender or even the 'care or protection' case lays himself open to a new charge (breach of probation) or to more serious action by the court (committal to an approved school) if he fails to comply with the conditions of the probation or supervision order.

It is for these reasons that it is of the utmost importance for the psychiatrist to see the situation primarily from the point of view of the offender, and to maintain at all costs an ordinary doctor-patient relationship, and to be neither offended nor irritated if the subject declines to follow advice.

Although it is unnecessary (for the reason stated above) and, indeed, unwise to start one's examination of a court case by enquiring whether he is willing for a report to be made to the court, yet it is very important to consult him at the end of the examination about the inclusion in the report of such personal matters as he may have revealed; and the same is true for any friends or relations who have been interviewed. If material gathered by another member of the team is included by the psychiatrist in his report it is advisable to let that member see the finished report before it is submitted. Intimate details as a general rule are not welcome in court

'The practitioner should only be expected to tell the court or the probation officer such facts as will help in the general supervision of the case' (Mullins 1944c).

It is a good policy, before the first interview and examination is concluded, to give the patient an opportunity of asking any questions which may seem important to him. Questions on legal matters are, however, best passed on to the probation officer or solicitor. And the question 'What will they do with me'? which is so often posed, offers the psychiatrist an excellent opportunity for pointing out his relationship with the court and reminding the offender of his own responsibility in the matter.

The psychiatrist's report to the court is covered by 'absolute privilege' and therefore cannot constitute 'actionable defamation'. The golden rule is to read the finished report and ask oneself the question 'Could I substantiate all the facts mentioned if I were to be cross examined upon them, and is the whole report strictly fair to the offender'? It is as well to remember that, even if the report be headed 'confidential', once it is launched it may pass through many hands including those of the offender. If, for example, a report is made in the London County Council Remand Homes, at least ten copies will be taken. Three copies will go to the bench and others to the clerk of the court, the probation officer, and the council's 'special officer', the remand home superintendent, perhaps to several departments of the local authority, perhaps to the Home Office, to the classifying school, the Borstal institution, or the approved school, and to the solicitor representing the child. In the juvenile court the progress of the report is governed by the statutory rules (Summary Jurisdiction, Ch. & Y.Ps. Rules 1933, R. XI. iv). Thus the bench need not receive the report if it does not want to, but once it has, the whole report may be spoken aloud or simply be read in whole or in part, and if the child or young person or his parents want to know what it is all about, the magistrate may hand it to them (though not many would do so) but must tell them the substance of the report as it bears upon 'his case or conduct, home surroundings or health'. The child or his parents are, very properly, entitled to have the case adjourned in order to produce rebutting evidence, and the psychiatrist may then be required to attend and undergo cross examination on what he has written.

The Criminal Justice Act, 1948, Section 43 reads 'Where a report by a probation officer is made to any court (other than a juvenile court) . . . a copy of the report shall be given by the court to the offender or his counsel or solicitor: Provided that the offender is under seventeen years of age and is not represented by counsel or a solicitor, a copy of the report need not be given to him but shall be given to his parent or guardian if present in

court'. A psychiatric report *may* be treated in just the same way as that of the probation officer, and is frequently handed to the defending solicitor or counsel. And of course, as in the juvenile court, the offender has an opportunity to rebutt the evidence (Secn. 4 (8)) and the psychiatrist can be called upon to substantiate his report in court.

The repeated provision of reports to the court may lure the psychiatrist into carelessness: thus a report made to a probation officer who on his own initiative sought psychiatric help with one of his difficult cases would not be covered by 'privilege' at all. Very difficult situations can arise in connection with the matrimonial cases which probation officers frequently refer to clinics without any probation order having been made. The difficulty usually centres about the opposing needs, to make one marital partner aware of the peculiarities of the other, and yet to avoid disclosing confidences. The ideal way of contriving this is to arrange a meeting of both partners with the psychiatrist and to encourage one to tell the other himself or herself. It would be very unsatisfactory if such information were to be disclosed through the medium of a report to a court.

Magistrates sometimes differ in what they require of a report, notably in the extent to which they want the psychiatrist to elaborate the reasons for his opinions, the length of his report, and the form of his recommendations. For this and other reasons it is advisable that, if a given court has regular recourse to a particular clinic, the psychiatrist should find an opportunity for visiting the magistrate. Such a visit is best arranged through the clerk of the court, or the senior probation officer, *after* a case of common interest has been heard. No case may be discussed in private with a magistrate before the finding of guilt and the decision of the court have been pronounced (Rex. v. Bodmin Justices).

Mention must be made of certain situations in which an attempt is made to persuade the psychiatrist against his better judgement. Solicitors or relatives occasionally press most insistently for the admission of a case to hospital on the grounds that otherwise the court is sure to sentence the offender to imprisonment. This is easily and finally dealt with by stating one's opinion plainly and adding 'this report is made in good time in order to allow the defence to obtain a report elsewhere if it is thought necessary', and by sending a copy of the letter to the probation officer.

There is a tendency for laymen to attribute altogether too much importance and finality to the intelligence quotient which, in delinquents, especially young delinquents, sometimes expresses the mood of the moment or degree of hostile negativism or lack of confidence as much as real ability. In cases of any doubt it is better to omit the 'I.Q.' or to qualify it with a brief assessment of its reliability. Sometimes the psychiatrist may

be pressed towards certifying a case under the Mental Deficiency Acts, not so much because of some degree of apparent dullness but because the case (often an adolescent) offers a serious social problem. It must be understood in this connection that if the definitions in the mental deficiency acts are interpreted too widely they will include a very large proportion of all recidivists and especially those persons sometimes labelled 'psychopathic personalities'. Further, the psychiatrist giving evidence in a case of this sort, has a special responsibility, since the offender may be committed to an institution for mental defectives on the evidence of only one medical practitioner (Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, Secn. 8 (2)).

We come now to the diagnosis, which is an unimportant part of the court report. Unless the diagnosis has also a legal definition (e.g. mental deficiency) it is usually better to omit it. For instance, the diagnosis of epilepsy does not of itself imply anything definite as to responsibility or disposal, and more or less publicly affixes a label which it may be difficult to detach. It may be in this sense that Mullins (1944d) quotes the advice said to have been given to a newly appointed judge by a colleague of much experience: 'Never give your reasons. Your decisions will probably be right. Your reasons will probably be wrong'. In general the diagnosis should be reserved for the case notes and for the letter which accompanies a patient to hospital or clinic. A further point is that if the diagnosis becomes familiar to the offender it may be a source of anxiety to him or may provide him with an attractive and useful shibboleth.

Lastly, even in those cases selected for psychiatric report a classical diagnosis cannot be made in more than 20 per cent. In the other 80 per cent. it is impossible to attach a label any more accurate than 'personality disorder' or 'social maladjustment'. Such omnibus terms would not stand up well to cross-examination. Yet this 80 per cent. is likely to respond to treatment as well as, or better than, those with a classical psychiatric diagnosis. There is the risk, especially where a given court does not often use psychiatric services, that the magistrate may begin to base his decisions on the diagnosis rather than on the recommendation; further, certain diagnoses may come to be regarded as demanding admission to hospital, which might be undesirable. The cut and dried diagnosis is very popular, and lay people look for it and value it altogether more than they should, just as they tend to do with the 'I.Q.'. There is too great a tendency, having heard the diagnosis, to pigeon-hole a case in accordance with the classical treatment of the disease rather than in accordance with the needs of the individual. Conversely there is the danger that those to whom a simple or classical diagnosis cannot be attached may be presumed beyond the need or reach of help.

In the words of Mr. Christmas Humphreys, Senior Counsel to the Crown at the Central Criminal Court, the court 'wants prognosis. Is this mental illness or abnormal behaviour curable, and if so how long will it take before the offender can be relied upon not to offend again'? Similarly the magistrate's court wants to know what is the likely outcome in a given case. An accurate prognosis can often be given. Nevertheless experience teaches some hard lessons in this field. The most classical 'psychopathic personalities' marry and settle down to a blameless life, and the mischievous but attractive young person graduates from probation, through approved school, Borstal, prison to preventive detention. There is room for optimism but there is still more room for caution. Accurate prognosis is dependent upon proper follow-up of cases and upon the proper assessment of the different forms of treatment. Since it is in precisely these two directions that research has been least adequately applied, we have reason for additional caution, and for additional effort in the planning of suitable investigation.

To strike a clinical note, it is necessary to remember that the prognosis for the committing of offences is not the same as that of the underlying mental illness or disorder. Thus the homosexual person can very often be 'cured' of indulging his periodic drama in the public lavatory, even though he remain essentially homosexual.

The recommendation should appear to follow logically upon the preceding part of the report. In framing it one should consider first and foremost the best interests of the offender but also try to visualize what particular problems this case offers to the bench. Why did the magistrate decide to refer it for psychiatric opinion? What probable alternative disposals might already have been in his mind? Did the offender's looks or demeanour at his original court appearance suggest that he was perhaps mentally unbalanced or defective? Should he be in hospital rather than in prison? Is there any good reason why he should not be 'sent down' for six months? Will punishment make him better or worse? Or in the case of a child with whom ordinary methods have failed, is there perhaps something in his home background or earlier history which has not yet been revealed? Is it worth while to persist in efforts to keep him at home or would it be in his best interests to get him away before further damage is done? Will eighteen months at an approved school be sufficient or should there be a more permanent arrangement? These and a great many others are questions which the magistrate hopes to have answered.

Section 26 (4) of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, requires the court when it asks for a report to state its 'reasons' for wanting it and to pass on any information concerning the remanded person's physical and mental condi-

tion. The latter is regularly provided in the probation officer's report, but in the writer's experience it is not usual (especially in juvenile courts) for the ' reasons ' to be supplied, which is unfortunate.

By viewing the problem from the court angle the psychiatrist will be most likely to have his recommendation carried out. No one is more useful towards this end than the probation officer, for he or she was probably present in court at the first appearance, heard what the magistrate said and may know a great deal about the offender and his background. Furthermore, the probation officer, better than anyone else, knows the possible disposals in this particular case and the helpful institutions of the district. It is always worth while, therefore, to consult him. Like the psychiatrist, he does not put all the detail in his report, and will probably amplify it verbally if he has the opportunity.

It is inadvisable to recommend psychiatric or child-guidance treatment (especially if someone else is being asked to carry it out) unless there is a reasonable chance of its being successful, for such a course would overburden the clinics and perhaps make it more difficult later on to obtain treatment for a really suitable case. On the other hand, if an offender is under treatment at the time of committing the offence, it is always important to find out from the therapist whether or no he feels justified in continuing it, for an occasional lapse during the course of treatment is by no means necessarily an unfavourable sign.

The question of punishment, unless to mention its probable effects, is better omitted, for reference to it might be construed as an indication that it should be applied. The psychiatrist should not make a positive recommendation for punishment even though he personally feels that it is indicated ; this is a matter for the magistrate.

Others besides the magistrate and offender will be interested in the recommendation. The probation officer will be anxious to know if the psychiatrist, who sees the case for an hour or two, is recommending probationary supervision for as many years, and would perhaps like to have been consulted on the practicability of such a course. The probation officer may also look for information on the subject of causation and for any likely leads which he may follow up during the period of supervision, vocational advice, need for specific adjustment of the environment, and the like. In approved school or Borstal institution candidates, the report may be of use to the classifying school or allocation centre. The local authority has to carry out a high proportion of the orders of the juvenile court, and therefore its court representative will be much concerned with the psychiatric recommendation and its practicability ; his heart will sink if a foster home is recommended for a Roman Catholic, a bedwetter, or an

adolescent girl delinquent, as these are very difficult to place. Unless the psychiatrist knows that this actual case can be accepted in a certain school or institution it is better not to mention the name of that place in the report, but merely to outline the type of placement.

The psychologist at the child guidance clinic or classifying school would like to know what test of intelligence was used, so that an alternative test may be given if necessary.

Each of the people to whom the report may circulate expects something different and it would be surprising if all were satisfied. There is therefore a choice between somewhat over-loading a report and writing a subsidiary one for a particular worker or department; the latter is preferable if time allows.

The psychiatrist is often warned not to be Utopian or to make unpracticable suggestions. Yet it is part of his function to keep the ideal course in view, provided it be realistic and well founded. The ideal can of course be qualified by a more practical recommendation. Among adult offenders the widest gap between the ideal and the practicable method of disposal exists in the case of the habitual offender who needs training or treatment but will not accept it voluntarily; chronic alcoholics, some sex offenders, especially those whose love object is a child, the very impulsive or very aggressive criminal, are referred to here. It is these who need a 'hospital prison' such as has been advocated by East and Hubert and others. Among children the difficulty is to apply more than one type of treatment simultaneously, to deal with disturbed families rather than with the latest victim of the disturbance, to obtain placement away from home with the probability of the child having an opportunity to make a sound emotional relationship with an understanding adult while he is away, to provide small-group residential treatment for emotionally disturbed children.

It is sometimes necessary to remind psychiatrists who are providing reports to juvenile courts from remand homes that they are only there *to advise* the court. They are not bound to find an ideal solution to every case and indeed, even when a cut-and-dried recommendation is demanded it may be part of their duty to turn the responsibility back to the court.

As to the actual plan of the report, Sir Norwood East's (1927) advice cannot be bettered. 'Each medical man will draw up such report in his own way, but it should be as precise, concise and accurate as possible. My own practice was to subdivide it under five heads. A short preamble gave the general steps adopted to arrive at an opinion, stated when the accused first came under observation, the number of interviews held with him, and from whom information concerning him had been received. Then followed

the family history relevant to mental disease, also stating from whom the information had been obtained. The personal history came next, and any corroboration of material points was noted. Then an account was given of the physical and mental condition of the accused, the progress of the case, and the indications of insanity or mental deficiency, if present '. And finally the opinion.

In higher courts the ' opinion ' must primarily concern the mental condition of the accused, and the question whether he is legally insane and fit to plead ; but in children's courts and adult petty sessional courts, such questions rarely arise and the court is concerned to know if from the medical and psychological facts a realistic plan of action needs to be and can be devised. A magistrate, however, is sometimes concerned to know whether he may accept a plea from a prisoner, while a judge or a chairman of quarter sessions may welcome the consultant's tactful suggestions for disposal.

In so far as this matter can be summarised, the psychiatrist's report to the court should be clearly understandable, accurate, logical, modest, and appearing to be made by a physician and therefore by one who is impartial and genuinely concerned with the welfare of the offender.

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BROKEN HOMES AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE[1]

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INTRODUCTION

The social and medical importance of 'broken homes' in affecting adversely the mental health of the children nurtured in them is now widely recognized. Bowlby (1951) has recently published an excellent survey of the whole problem in childhood: and has stressed particularly the supreme importance for the individual's mental health of mother love in infancy and early years. Less attention has been given to the significance of broken homes in the aetiology of adult mental illness. The results of three American investigations, by Pollock, Malzberg and Fuller (1939), Lidz and Lidz (1949) and Oltman, McGarry and Friedman (1952), are in fair agreement about the incidence of parental deprivation in cases of schizophrenia, figures varying between 34 per cent and 40 per cent being reported by them. The first two of these groups of workers have also reported accordant figures for the incidence of parental deprivation in depressive states—16·7 per cent and 20 per cent (respectively): whereas Oltman *et al.* have recorded an incidence in manic-depressives of 33·9 per cent. Oltman *et al.* give an incidence of 48·9 per cent in psychoneuroses and of 47·7 per cent in cases of psychopathic personality. Madow and Hardy (1947) found that amongst soldiers suffering from war neuroses 36 per cent came from homes which had been broken before the patients were 16: McGregor (1944) investigating similar case material found 48 per cent affected. While some of these figures clearly suggest that childhood deprivations have played an important role in predisposing to certain adult breakdowns, it remains true that the aetiology of nervous and mental illnesses is usually complex, and that one cannot safely neglect or minimise either endogenous or exogenous influences. A broken home in most cases can be only one adverse factor amongst many, and is frequently of less importance than, for example, a morbid inheritance. The significance of these figures depends also obviously on the incidence amongst controls. 'The majority of reports appear to indicate the presence of parental deprivation in approximately 30 per cent of control subjects prior to their 19th birthday' (Oltman *et al.* 1952): other workers have suggested an

[1] We are grateful to Professor Sir David K. Henderson for his criticism and advice: and to Dr. J. K. Slater for permission to study these cases in his wards of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.

incidence in normals of 12–15 per cent. The 'normal' incidence of broken homes in the communities investigated cannot, therefore, be regarded yet as satisfactorily established. The recording of reliable control figures is urgently necessary.

The incidence of broken homes in the histories of those who later commit or attempt suicide has also been recorded by a few workers: but surprisingly little attention has been paid to it, in view of the strikingly high incidence reported by those who have studied the problem. Palmer (1941), reporting on 25 consecutive cases where suicide had been attempted, found that 16 of the cases (64 per cent) had lost one or both parents before the age of 14 years: 10 of these had lost a parent of the same sex, 5 had lost a parent of the opposite sex, and 1 had lost both parents. Loss of the parent was defined as meaning either death or absence due to separation or divorce. Reitman (1942) reviewed very briefly the histories of 25 individuals, 13 of whom had committed and 12 of whom had attempted suicide. 60 per cent of these cases had lost one of the parents before reaching the age of 15: loss of the parent was taken to include death, desertion, separation, divorce and illegitimacy. Further details of the broken home situation were not given, except for the comment that 'regarding loss of homosexual or heterosexual parent the figures were similar to Palmer's findings, namely almost 50–50 per cent'. (It will be noted that these were *not* Palmer's findings.) Teicher (1947) presented a study of 30 consecutive cases of attempted suicide occurring among male enlisted personnel in the U.S. Navy. 10 cases were, he stated, 'characterized by personality insecurity', and '5 out of (these) 10 cases or roughly 50 per cent had a past history of a death of a parent in childhood, or an unstable family background or outright rejection by parents'. Simon (1950) reported 50 cases of attempted suicide among U.S. Veterans. 29 of these Veterans (58 per cent) came from broken homes, caused either by death of one or both parents, divorce, or conclusive evidence of parental rejection which resulted in their being reared by relatives. Neither Teicher nor Simon defined the period of childhood and adolescence which they had taken into account in calculating their percentages.

It is evident from the above that previous studies of suicidal patients have suggested that a broken home in the individual's childhood is aetiologically of considerable importance. No examination has been published, however, from this point of view of any large number of unselected cases: and the data so far available have been unsatisfactory also owing to a lack of detail and a failure by some workers to define what they have meant by the term a 'broken home'. The present study may help to remedy some of these deficiencies.

THE CASE MATERIAL

A series of 200 consecutive cases of attempted suicide admitted to a general hospital in the years 1950-52 has been personally observed. The sample is likely to be representative of an urban population, since the large majority of all suicidal attempts occurring in the city of Edinburgh are admitted to this hospital.

92 men (46 per cent and 108 women (54 per cent) were examined. Their ages ranged from 15 to 83 years. 34 (29 per cent) of the 116 cases studied in this paper came from homes in Social Class V (Unskilled Workers).

CRITERIA USED IN THE INVESTIGATION

We have employed the term a 'broken home' as it is commonly used, to imply that the children in that home have been deprived of a normal life with their parents. This deprivation, physical, mental or moral, may have many causes. We have listed 15 separate causes in the analysis (see Table). We have interpreted childhood as the period from birth up to but not including the 17th birthday. The term 'temporary loss' of the mother or father has been used where the parent has been lost to the child for 6 consecutive months or more.

INCIDENCE OF BROKEN HOMES IN THE SERIES

(A) Overall incidence:

116 out of the series of 200 consecutive cases (58 per cent) came from broken homes. There was no difference in the sex incidence.

(B) Incidence correlated with age of the suicidal individual:

	MALES			FEMALES		
Age Group	*Total Cases*	*No. with Broken Homes*	*Per cent. with Broken Homes*	*Total Cases*	*No. with Broken Homes*	*Per cent. with Broken Homes*
10–19	4	4	100	2	2	100
20–29	22	12	54·5	26	20	76·9
30–39	17	9	52·9	21	15	71·4
40–49	17	11	64·7	14	9	64·3
50–59	16	7	43·8	21	7	33·3
60–69	10	8	80	15	4	26·7
70 and over	6	3	50	9	5	55·6

It will be noted that all of the suicidal individuals in this series still in their teens, came from broken homes. In the female cases, the incidence of broken homes fell progressively from the second to the seventh decade: a similar trend in the case of males might be present, though the figures for the fifth and seventh decades seem to contradict this. The numbers of cases in the individual decades are too small to be reliable, and the findings of this investigation require verification here. If the history of a broken home is in fact found with diminishing frequency as the age of the suicidal individuals at risk advances from adolescence to the involution, the result might be due to a number of circumstances. The parental home, good or bad, becomes in general less important as the individual develops into adulthood, and traumatic events are less intensely experienced as he passes beyond them; those rendered most vulnerable by their early experiences may tend to break down quickly when faced with the demands of adult life, while later other adult experiences and personal relationships may compensate for earlier deprivations; the immature, unstable, psychopathic individual may become more mature and more stable with advancing age: any or all of these potent factors, and possibly others, might be operative and influential in the same direction.

CAUSES OF BROKEN HOMES IN THE SERIES

Cause of Deprivation	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
A. Individual illegitimate	3	6	9
B. Death of mother	9	14	23
C. Loss of mother for other reason			
(*a*) Permanent	3	2	5
(*b*) Temporary	6	12	18
D. Alcoholism in mother	7	7	14
E. Step-mother	1	5	6
F. Death of father	14	22	36
G. Loss of father for other reason			
(*a*) Permanent	3	8	11
(*b*) Temporary	11	12	23
H. Alcoholism in father	23	20	43
I. Step-father	3	7	10
J. Frequent parental quarrels (not due to alcoholism)	4	3	7
K. Parents separated	4	2	6
L. Parents divorced	—	1	1
M. Individual adopted	2	1	3
N. Individual reared in			
(*a*) Institution	5	9	14
(*b*) Foster Home	2	3	5
(*c*) By relatives	3	8	11
O. War evacuation	2	4	6

The high incidence (50 per cent) of broken homes in the histories of suicidal old people, is also noteworthy. It is intelligible that those who have been insecure in earlier life should have greater difficulty in adjusting to the stringencies of old age. Defects of personality become aggravated, and the old person tends to regress both in his psychological needs and in his organic functions. For example—his dependence on others becomes often more marked and may become infantile, reassuring parental figures may be sought again in religion; and a failing memory may force him to live more and more in his past. The old person, to use a common phrase, is apt to enter a second childhood: and a mental illness of any type in the senium aggravates these trends.

It may be useful to set out now briefly what seem to be the most important items in the table above, focussing attention on the child-parent relationship. If a parent has been lost to a child, either permanently or temporarily, or a parent has been chronically alcoholic, we have described for the purpose of the table below 'a probable disturbed relationship' between that child and that parent.

Cause of Deprivation	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Mother			
(*a*) Permanent loss of	12	16	28
(*b*) Probable disturbed relationship with . .	24	32	56
Father			
(*a*) Permanent loss of	17	30	47
(*b*) Probable disturbed relationship with . .	43	55	98
Both parents			
(*a*) Permanent loss of	5	6	11
(*b*) Probable disturbed relationship with . .	16	27	43

In the compilation of these tables, doubtful evidence has been rejected, and a certain amount of positive evidence has almost certainly been missed. The figures given for the incidence of deprivation in the early histories of these patients, and guesses based on these figures about the incidence of traumatic experiences in their childhood, are probably, therefore, underestimations. Nor do the tables give a full statement of the complexity of the situations which were revealed. For example, when enumerating cases where the mother had been lost to the child, we included only those who had lost their own mothers and we excluded the loss of foster and adoptive mothers: again, a child might lose a parent temporarily, regain the parent, then lose him or her permanently—the permanent loss only was recorded in

such a case: and where a child was reared by others than the parent(s), this fact was recorded under only one of the subheadings of (N), and thus no indication has been given of how some of these unfortunates were driven pathetically from pillar to post for their shelter.

Bare, numerical data can give, of course, only a crude picture of family situations. But these data are at least factual, they have not been derived merely from the patient's own unsupported statements, since in every case relatives were also questioned. To assess emotional climates with regard to their normality or abnormality, to express in simple objective or quantitative terms such things as parental quarrelling or rejection and cruelty in parental attitudes, to eliminate the bias not only of the patient but also of his observer—in short, to give more than a very impressionistic opinion of a certain home in the retrospect (usually) of many years, is, of course, a most formidable task. The data here presented may complement the more detailed study of individual cases. It may be added that to get accurately the information needed about the precise links between broken homes and suicidal acts, the subjects investigated will have to be young.

AGE AT WHICH INDIVIDUAL SUFFERED PARENTAL DEPRIVATION

Patient's age	Loss of Father			Loss of Mother		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
0– 4 years . .	12	14	26*	8	7	15
5– 9 years . .	7	13	20	5	8	13
10–16 years . .	9	15	24	5	13	18

* includes 9 illegitimates.

These figures suggest that the loss of a parent or parents at any time in childhood may be traumatic. Similar figures were obtained, when permanent and temporary losses of parents were recorded separately: and when the age groupings were arranged to show up the incidence of deprivation at the ages 3–6 years, the oedipus period, no more definite trend was revealed.

In a frequently quoted article Zilboorg (1936) has stated: 'A history of the death of a person close to the child or a circumstance bringing the theme of death into the actual life of the child at one of the two turning-points of the psychosexual development of the child makes suicide a highly probable outcome, particularly if these events occur with the background of strong and constant stimulation of the child's attachment to one of the parents or to their intimate life'. The turning points referred to are the

oedipus period and puberty. The results obtained in this investigation do not negative this conclusion: though it appears that loss of a parent during the so-called latency period of the child's psychosexual development may also be of considerable importance.

PSYCHIATRIC DIAGNOSIS OF THE INDIVIDUALS FROM BROKEN HOMES

Diagnosis	*Total No. of cases*	*No. with broken homes*	*Per cent. with broken homes*
All Reaction types	200	116	58
Epilepsy	12	10	83·3
Psychopathic States	50	35	70
Chronic Alcoholism	3	2	66·7
Unstable Feeble-mindedness	5	3	60
Depressive States	112	60	53·6
Schizophrenia	6	3	50
Others	12	3	25

The very high incidence (70 per cent) of broken homes in the histories of the large number of suicidal individuals suffering from psychopathic states, draws attention once again to the relationship noted by many previous observers, between this early situation and this reaction-type. The individuals labelled as suffering from Epilepsy, Chronic Alcoholism, and Unstable Feeble-Mindedness were allied to those suffering from Psychopathic States both by the similarity of their impulsive and unruly behaviour, and in the incidence of their childhood deprivation.

DISCUSSION

To discuss in isolation the importance of broken homes in the aetiology of suicidal attempts, is to incur all the risks attendant on focussing attention upon a single aspect of a highly complicated situation. On the other hand the figures presented in the tables above are so striking in many respects that to abstract this aspect of the problem seems justifiable.

The majority of the 200 people who had attempted suicide had come from broken homes. We may conclude, therefore, that many, if not the majority, of those who later attempt suicide have suffered in childhood from a lack of affection, in some cases even from affective starvation, from insecurity, and from gross defects of parental guidance and influence. The traumatic effects of a lack of mother-love in childhood are nowadays everywhere recognized. Our findings seem also to emphasise the importance

of a distortion or lack or absence of paternal influences in childhood. In a patriarchal society, the father is the figure in the home probably of chief importance for the child's super-ego development. The father was absent from or an inadequate figure in the homes of very many of these subjects. In investigations of the broken home situation there has been a tendency to lay almost exclusive emphasis upon the role of the mother: this bias needs correcting.

Amongst the causes of broken homes in this series, death of the parents and alcoholism of the parents were frequent. Overt mental illness of a parent, necessitating mental hospital treatment, was an insignificant cause of childhood deprivation.

We may suppose that a broken home tends to render the individual less adaptable and, therefore, more vulnerable to the stresses of adult life and in particular less able to deal satisfactorily with personal relationships. It is significant that 24 per cent of the suicidal attempts in this series occurred between the ages of 20 and 29 years; just when one would expect an individual, ill-prepared by the emotional deprivation and inadequate discipline of a broken home, to fail in his wider social adjustments outside the home. And it is also significant that it was from the younger suicidal individuals that we obtained most often the history of a broken home.

The present investigation demonstrates that while a broken home seems to predispose to the suicidal attempts of individuals suffering from various types of nervous and mental illness, it is particularly important in the aetiology of the suicidal attempts of those suffering from psychopathic states and of certain others, more definitely constitutionally deficient, who are like in their (psychopathic) behaviour, e.g., certain temperamentally unstable epileptic and intellectually defective individuals. The suicidal attempts of these people are less the culmination of some specific mental illness than episodes in their persistently erratic courses, acute frustration reactions typical of their social maladjustment and egocentricity.

Individuals suffering from psychopathic states totalled in this series one quarter of all those who attempted suicide. Henderson (1942) has stated 'almost the most specific manner in which the psychopathic state shows itself is in the act of suicide': and in this, as in other ways, these people constitute a major social and psychiatric problem, which we are still far from understanding fully. Many of the adults who attempt suicide, more than those the specificity of whose imbalance merits the diagnosis of a psychopathic state, have remained at a wilful, uninhibited stage of mental development: their social and altruistic feelings seem to have been absent, or not to have developed properly. They have shown in other words, many of them, a serious failure in super-ego development: and it is likely that

deficiencies of nurture as well as defects of nature have contributed to their failure to grow up. We have drawn attention already to the disturbed early relationship between child and parent, particularly child and father, in many of our cases: we may add here that emotional security alone makes tolerable the frustrations and deprivations and punishments which the growing child has to experience in the interests of his social adaptation. We agree largely, therefore, with Palmer's (1941) conclusion that an arrest in psycho-sexual development appears to be the basic mechanism in many suicidal attempts, and that 'this arrest is often due to the unavailability of one or both parents as love-objects, as 'stepping stones' in psychosexual development, and as active forces in super-ego formation'.

A broken home, in addition to interfering by the withdrawal of parental figures with the maturation of the child's social attitudes, is obviously injurious to the growing individual in many other ways. Knowing their background of childhood insecurity and deprivation, the chronic dissatisfaction with life which many suicidal adults exhibit, their inner restlessness, their proneness to run away, may be understood better as a compulsive search for the love which they had never had in any adequate measure as children. Many adult suicidal individuals are the prey of fears and loneliness, sensitized to these feelings by the hurtful experiences of their early days. Others are the victims of unresolved childhood conflicts in the sexual sphere. Such a home background fosters also reactions of aggression and hatred in the child: and these powerful but forbidden affects, with their inevitable concomitant of guilt, may after long repression find in adult life violent outlets in hostility directed against others, against the environment, or against the self. Quintessentially narcissistic and omnipotent attitudes which may find their final expression in a suicidal act, are other typical reactions of rebellion and of rejection of a world which has seemed from the outset unappreciative. Identification with, or the hope of rejoining, a dead person was a prominent motive in the suicidal attempts of about one quarter of our cases, and the dead individual most commonly identified with was the mother: here also a broken home contributed often to the psychopathology of suicide. In short, many of the psychological effects of a broken home and the psychological causes of suicide seem to be identical.

Despite the lack of fully reliable controls, it is clear from this investigation and from the reported results of other workers, that the incidence of a history of a broken home is higher amongst suicidal individuals than it is in any type of adult nervous or mental illness which has so far been investigated. There seems, therefore, to be a particularly close relationship, which is psychologically understandable, between broken homes and

suicidal trends. The whole situation merits much more attention and detailed investigation than it has so far received, particularly since societies in which the number of broken homes is increasing are likely to find themselves stigmatized by an increased number of suicides.

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EXPERIMENT AT KNEESWORTH HALL

By MONTAGUE M. SIMMONS and RUSSELL DAVIS
(CAMBRIDGESHIRE)

INTRODUCTION

For a number of years before the War those concerned with the training of young offenders in Approved Schools had been considering whether more could not be done for the few boys of high intelligence who were among those committed by the Juvenile Courts. Schemes of training in Approved Schools were planned to meet the needs of boys below (often far below), the normal, yet each school found from time to time that it had admitted a boy of a very different kind. Sometimes the school was fortunate enough to have on its staff someone capable of making such a boy his special responsibility; or it might be situated within convenient reach of a Grammar School at which the boy could attend daily to continue his education if his age and general stability made him acceptable to the outside school. About all this there was a good deal of chance and risk; to many it seemed more logical to gather these intelligent boys together in one school, staffed and equipped to take them as far in their academic or technical education as they were capable of going. In 1948 it was decided to try this out, and Kneesworth Hall came into being. The new school had accommodation for 48 boys of high intelligence ranging in age from 14–18. The first boys were admitted in June, 1949, and the last admission of a Senior boy was in February, 1952. This article covers these three years before Kneesworth Hall became an Intermediate School.

The experiment raised a number of questions at the outset to which the Managers hoped to find the answers. There was first the question of numbers; once the school was established would there be found more intelligent delinquents than was at first anticipated, or would the numbers forthcoming be less? Again, what was the optimum size for a school of this kind?—would the 48 need to be broken up into smaller units? What would the boys be like—fairly stable, able to pursue set courses, or disturbed, mentally unbalanced, or psychopathic? What would be the effect on one another of putting all the intelligent boys together; would they be more difficult or more amenable than a mixed group? Was the age-range too large, or not large enough? What would be the reactions of the neighbourhood; would they help or hinder? What kind of men and women were needed for this sort of work; were qualities of character more important than professional qualifications? Now that, after three years of working with this senior group, the School has changed to a younger age-grouping, we feel that we have enough information on which to offer at least tentative answers to some of these questions. In giving our answers it should be

understood that the views expressed are those of the writers only and that they do not commit the Home Office or any others connected with the experiment.

THE REGIMEN

The fact that this promised to be a very interesting experiment did not lead the Managers to regard the boys who came to them as laboratory specimens. Whatever peculiarities their behaviour might reveal, these were boys committed to the care of the Managers for training, and they were anxious to give each one of them the best start possible in life. But though time might be needed to answer many of the questions propounded, the moment the first boy arrived (and for five days he was the only boy in the school, amongst a crowd of workmen), he precipitated the over-riding question—what was to be the *attitude* towards these boys?—and the first words spoken to him indicated the answer.

The attitude was to be that of a family in which the parents care very much for all their children ; are concerned for their welfare ; allow them freedom to develop but, when necessary, restrain them from harming themselves or others ; provide them with a real but not rigid pattern of order for their days ; are at ease with them ; demand nothing of them for themselves, but enjoy what is freely offered ; are their older friends, but neither their taskmasters nor their ' pals '; understand their difficulties and make evident their understanding ; but always keep before them the constant effort which is required from them if they are to achieve the good life.

Children who have grown up from birth in a family of this kind hardly notice the atmosphere of loving kindness in which they move: anything different would seem unnatural. To many of the boys who came to us (but by no means to all), it was our way of living which was strange; it answered to little in their previous experience. It was noted that for a short period after his arrival at Kneesworth it was common for a boy to go through a phase of polite, proper behaviour, either because he was relieved at finding the place not nearly as bad as perhaps he had been promised, or because he was carried on for a time by the habits quickly acquired at Remand Home or Classifying School. This was frequently followed by a period of reaction when he began to behave rather badly and to reveal sides of his character which were not noted on his records. He was trying to see how far he could go. With the most disturbed, it was often a long time before they moved out of this stage and began to develop an attachment to the School—occasionally so long that even the most patient member of the Staff might begin to doubt the wisdom of this attitude. But, with few exceptions, this way had its effect in the end. Though to every boy, what the School stood for might

not mean so much that he was able to go on without backsliding, each one of them, once he had left, turned to Kneesworth Hall as to his home. They would all understand what Robert Frost meant when he said:

> ' Home is the place where, when you have to go there,
> They have to let you in ',

and whether they came to tell us of their successes, or, as fugitives from Borstal, came looking for affection and sympathy before they gave themselves up, it was to Kneesworth they turned when they wanted to talk about themselves. Even the boy who attempted to commit suicide almost on our doorstep was not expressing his hate of the School, but his acute distress at receiving the impossible affection his hungry soul longed for.

Before long, we found that the picture which had presented itself to many, of a residential grammar school where boys who merely needed ' extending ' could be brought quickly along academic or technical lines, and where examination successes would come with ' monotonous regularity ' (to quote one forecast), was far from the Kneesworth we saw developing before our eyes. Certainly we have not been without examination successes. Of the 7 boys old enough to sit for the G.C.E. in 1952, 6 passed in from 2 to 6 subjects, one getting advanced level in Zoology and another Grade 1 in English Literature whilst a third passed in English Language, English Literature, Mathematics, French, Latin and History. Another boy passed his second year of the National Certificate in Engineering, yet a large proportion of the boys who came to us presented behaviour problems too severe to permit them to settle down to the serious study necessary for passing an examination, or even, at first, to schoolroom work at all. Of the 71 boys who came, 35 per cent. were described by competent examiners as psychopathic personalities, and three of these had spent some months in mental hospitals (two before they came, and one whilst under our care). Of the rest, the majority showed evidence of varying degrees of emotional disturbance in which the prognosis was more hopeful. Almost without exception the boys who came to the School had, at their previous schools, fallen well below the attainment which might have been expected from their intelligence, and continued to have undue difficulty with schoolroom work at Kneesworth until their emotional disturbance had been mitigated. Of the 38 Grammar School boys who came to us a number had actually been removed from Grammar to Secondary Modern Schools because of their poor showing, while the previous school reports of most of the others showed their behaviour to have been seriously interfering with their work in the Schoolroom.

Their actual Intelligence Quotients ranged from 110 to 150 (Terman-

Merrill) with a mean I.Q. of 129. (Mr. Gittins of Aycliffe gives the mean I.Q. of his tested sample of Approved School Boys as 89·5.) Within our wide range the boy of 110 might feel as inferior amongst the others as a boy of low I.Q. might feel amongst a group of average intelligence, but otherwise he tended to be more stable. Perhaps the most seriously disturbed were those whose I.Q's fell within the 130–140 range.

This make-up of the group meant that though academic or technical successes would be an indication of developing stability, neither the schoolroom nor the workshop could be the chief means of attaining this. The first consideration was always to try and relieve the emotional hold-up. This was attempted first by allowing the boy to move at ease amongst a community in which there was a good proportion of mature adults as well as boys with intelligence comparable with his own ; then, by one or other member of the Staff forming a closer relationship with the boy, so that he could trust him or her with some of his anxieties ; and lastly by visiting the boys' homes, both in order to gain information which might throw light on his behaviour and to gain the fullest understanding and co operation from the family. This has been the extent of our ' psycho-therapy ', and our Consultant Psychiatrist, while offering his opinion about every boy on whom we sought his advice, has rarely felt it necessary, or desirable, to carry out a course of treatment in addition to what we have been doing. In a number of cases he has found an E.E.G. helpful, and in several instances following this, he has prescribed a course of drugs, and we have observed reactions for him.

For the first six months after the School was opened we had no more than 8 boys, and though two of these had previously been in three other Approved Schools, and have since found their way to Borstal, and though the house was being turned upsidedown by workmen, the behaviour of this group inside the School was good, and there was no offence outside. The ninth boy, a superficially cheerful Irish boy with a hard core we never succeeded in penetrating, started the first offences. By the time we had 20 boys, there were 7 of marked psychopathic tendencies, who were troublesome within the school, and who occasionally slipped out at night (we have no night watchman), to commit offences in the neighbourhood. For some months this behaviour put a very heavy strain on the faith of those who were working with us and on our relations with our neighbours. In time, however, signs of a growing concern on the part of the boys for the things which we valued began to show themselves, and by the time our numbers had reached 40 we had achieved a whole year with only three minor offences outside, not serious enough for the police to wish to take action.

At this stage the psychopaths, of whom the proportion remained remarkably constant, expressed themselves within rather than outside the

School. During the last year of the Senior School there was some increase in outside offences but not of the same degree of seriousness as those of the first year. This may have been due in part to the anxiety felt by all as to what might be the future of the School.

Absconding, the bane of so many Approved Schools, was rare, even during our most difficult period. From time to time a boy absented himself for a few hours, returning on his own, usually without having committed any further offence; but very few have shown any signs of wishing actually to 'escape'. For some this might be because they found life at Kneesworth more pleasant than they had feared, and were content to remain and let things take their course. But even the most attractive Approved School carries with it loss of liberty, and there are few boys who do not feel this galling at times, so that we were surprised that more did not try to stay away. A few, no doubt, saw the School as a convenient base from which to operate on the neighbourhood, but for most of them we were forced to the conclusion that they stayed because here, for the first time in their lives, they felt safe. With one boy, who otherwise showed no abnormal behaviour, this was so much so that the difficulty was to get him to go outside the grounds, even when his consistently reliable behaviour had earned him the right to considerable freedom. When at last, in the company of one of the most disturbed boys, with whom he was friendly, he did abscond (they returned the same day because, as the other boy put it, it was not fair to lead a good boy astray), we began to feel happier about him.

With such a high proportion of boys potentially so violent, we had expected more frequent quarrels and fights than actually occurred. This may have been due in part to the fact that most of them were so self-centred that they were not fully aware of their companions, and school property often received the damage which might otherwise have been physical injury. We did, however, consciously provide them with outlets for their aggression against other people. One of these was the School Meeting, where, within wide but well-defined limits, each boy was free to say what he felt about the School in general and persons in particular. At times these meetings were apathetic, but more often lively and even rowdy, and they became a weekly event which few boys would miss if only for their entertainment value. The School Meeting came to grief when it sought to impose penalties on those boys who flouted its recommendations. Since, by the Approved Schools Rules, it could not be given this authority, an impasse was reached and the Meetings gradually fell into abeyance. More recently the boys themselves revived them without the Staff, to discuss problems which arose from day to day in the School. They acted as an advisory body and many of the suggestions they made were very helpful.

Much use was made of self-expression in painting and sculpture, and some boys revealed uncommon sensibility in these arts. But whether or not they developed artistic skill, all of them displayed very vividly in this work their emotional development and their reactions to situations they had experienced in their lives, both within the School and before they came. This work proved very helpful in assessing their needs.

Apart from such deliberate techniques, the living together, day by day, of boys with adults manifestly concerned for their welfare but also having interests of their own, gradually developed in the School a strong sense of community which even the most selfish appreciated. One of the most troublesome boys, on being upraided for his continuing bad behaviour, replied that no boy in the school appreciated more than he did all that was being done for him. " When I came," he exclaimed, " I was 100 per cent. criminal: now I am only 40 per cent.—don't you call that progress?" Unfortunately the remaining 40 per cent. has proved more than Society could accept.

It has indeed been borne in on us that the process of rehabilitation with these intelligent boys takes much longer than with others. While it is taking place, offences continue, though with diminishing frequency and seriousness, so that there is always the problem as to how long reform can be continued along satisfactory lines without undue disturbance in the immediate neighbourhood. In meeting this problem much depends upon the prestige the School enjoys in the locality, and particularly on the value the local Courts put on the reports submitted to them by the School.

When the School was first opened in the middle of an agricultural community, the neighbours, with no previous experience of such places, were suspicious. This suspicion developed into active hostility when the first offences began to occur. In the course of time, partly by talks to interested local groups, and visits made by them to the School, but most of all by the behaviour and bearing of the boys, the attitude altered and most of our neighbours were prepared to grant that Kneesworth Hall boys were not all bad and that ' a few spoilt it for the rest '. Even more generous tributes were paid to the work which we were doing by the chairman of local courts and by the police. But the balance between mistrust and confidence must always be difficult to maintain, and was always in danger of being upset by some more spectacular offence committed by one of our boys. In this, that very attachment of the boys to the School, which was one of the strongest influences for good in them, carried with it a danger. On more than one occasion offences were committed by boys on licence during a visit to the School. It is noticeable that such offences were more serious and dramatic than any committed by the same boys whilst in the School, as though the

boys were saying 'You have thrust us into the world; we will show you how disastrous the wrong is that you have done us'.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RESULTS ACHIEVED

The experiment with Senior Boys continued for only three years, and two and a half years is the longest any boy has been out of the School. While we would not wish to undertake the lifelong supervision advocated by one of our neighbours, a vigorous old lady of 80 ('surely the boys will live the longest portion of their lives *after* the age of 21?'), we realize we have not, as yet, covered with any boy the three-year period usually taken by Approved Schools when judging success or failure. All we can give is our own assessment of how well or ill these boys are doing at the time of writing (July 1953).

Of the 71 boys trained at Kneesworth Hall whilst it was a Senior School, 63 have now left and 8 are still in the School. Of the 63 who have left, 39 are known to be doing well at present, and 24 have been transferred to other forms of training. Of the 39 who are doing well, 5 have again appeared before a Court whilst on Licence (one A.W.L. from the Army and taking a cycle; one passing a stolen cheque and stealing; one firing an airgun and causing bodily harm; one driving away cars without the owners' consent; one damaging a road-sign), the remaining 34 have not appeared again before a Court.

Of the 24 boys who have gone to other forms of training, 3 were transferred to other Schools as a result of the change-over, and not because of further offences. Of the 21 who have been transferred to other forms of training because of other offences, 12 continued to commit offences after they had left Kneesworth and had to be transferred once more.

Of the 21 transfers, 5 were placed on Probation, 8 went to other Approved Schools, 6 went to Borstal and 2 were sent to Prison. Of the 5 placed on Probation 1 has since gone to Borstal and 1 to Prison and Borstal.

Of the 8 sent to other Approved Schools, 1 has gone to a third Approved School, and 4 have gone to Borstal, of which 1 has gone to Prison as well.

Of the 6 who were sentenced to Borstal Training 1 has received a sentence of further Borstal Training and 1 has been sent to Prison.

Of the 2 boys sentenced direct to Prison 1 has received a further Prison sentence and the other has been sentenced to Borstal training, from which he has since escaped, and has not so far been recovered.

Of these 21 transfers, 5 have now completed their further training and are at present satisfactory.

Occupations to which boys have gone are as follows: H.M. Forces *Royal Navy*, 1 (Electrician 1st Class); *R.A.F.*, 8 (including 2 Radio

Operators and 1 Male Nurse); *Army,* 10 (including 1 Sgt./Instr. (Radar), 1 Corporal R.A.S.C., 5 Clerks, 1 Driver 1st Class, 1 Infantry Corporal and 4 undergoing basic training). Civilian Employment—*Engineering,* 12 (including 5 apprentices); *Clerks,* 2 (1 with a firm of Accountants and 1 with a large industrial firm); *Technical Coll. Students,* 1 (expected to enter University in October); *Science Laboratory Asst.,* 1 (also studying towards a University qualification); *Building Trades,* 1 (apprenticed); *College Servants,* 2 (1 apprentice and 1 shortly to enter a full-time training course in hotel-management).

The general pattern of employment has been for the boys to start in occupations rather below their capacity, but to advance steadily, in some cases rapidly, to the level of their intelligence and skill. An example is a boy of 18 (previously 5 years in a Junior Approved School), who was unfit for Military Service and was found employment as a College Servant at £2 10s. per week. He became dissatisfied with his conditions of employment and his prospects and resigned. The College had such a high opinion of him that they offered him £5 per week and good prospects if he would return to them. He did so and is now going on to training at a Technical College. The boy who started as an assistant gardener in a Parks Department is now being trained for an eventual post as a Parks Superintendent. Another boy, who had his School Certificate before coming to us, took up an Engineering Apprenticeship and has already been awarded his Ordinary National Certificate in Engineering.

The slowness of getting off the mark, both on arrival at Kneesworth Hall, and in taking up employment appears, from our experience, to be a common characteristic of the intelligent delinquent. In fact, this symptom—the distaste for effort and application—put us in the dilemma which can be described in simplified terms as that of the soft versus the hard treatment of delinquency. In some, if not the majority of cases, we have come to regard these symptoms as manifestations of general emotional disturbance, and as similar to 'effort intolerance' which is the usual accompaniment of anxiety states. We have had to decide in each case whether to make firm discipline the means of treatment, or whether to meet the symptoms less directly, and try to give a sense of security, in the expectation that, as confidence is built up, the boy will begin to work spontaneously—at first hesitantly, but with gradually increasing interest. The justifications of the former approach are most obvious; the latter approach, which involves a degree of risk, requires from the Staff patience and forbearance, and, above all, certain kinds of skill and judgment. We have no doubt that the results of the latter method are superior, although they have to be waited for; for when they come they are the more lasting and the more radical. But inevi-

tably we have had to compromise. In doing so we have perhaps laid ourselves open, in the present climate of opinion, rather to the criticism that discipline is lax than to the criticism that we have lacked skill in the less direct approach. Visitors to the School have been numerous, representing many walks of life and shades of opinion. Many of them have been unhappy that we did not keep every boy's nose to the grindstone, and others have appeared to us to be expecting impossibly quick results. To them we could quote instances of the beneficial effect of letting some boys go at their own pace. The boy who at the age of 20 was a Sgt./Instructor in the Army, and is, in addition, happily married, came to us with a bad record. He never settled long in any of the Training Departments and might well have appeared to the casual visitor to be doing nothing in particular. Another boy who philosophically accepted week after week the irksome penalty for repeated late rising, has now held for a year a job to which he has had to travel 2 miles to work at 7.30 a.m., and has so far not been late once. Yet another boy, who while with us never seemed to be able to concentrate long enough on any subject to be able to pass an examination in it, has swept through the examinations for Male Nurses in the R.A.F., and already, within his first year, is a Senior Aircraftman.

Some of the boys who come to us have no homes, and a number of others no longer wish to live at home, either because they do not get on well with the family, or because conditions of employment in their home area are not good. For these we find lodgings and suitable employment within the area of the School so that we ourselves can keep in close touch with them. There are at present 6 boys placed out in this way.

The home conditions of Kneesworth boys appear to be rather better than usual amongst delinquents. Materially they are more comfortable : thus, less than 10 boys came from homes which could be described as poor or dirty, and several verged on the affluent. There was also a higher proportion (about half) of apparently united homes, though further investigation often revealed long absences of the father, or periods of evacuation at an early age separating the boy from his mother. In a number of instances it has been found very difficult to find any severe crisis within the family which might have affected the boy in later years. Among the broken homes there were instances of the re-establishment of the family by a second marriage of one parent, and of the boy being willing, even anxious, to incorporate himself into this new unit. These facts have led us to look more closely into the family situation and not to accept an apparent unity and affection at its face value.

This factual review gives support to our belief that the larger number of boys who have been sent to us responded to the attitudes and influences we

brought to bear on them. It might be said that many of the jobs to which the boys went on leaving were hardly up to the level expected of those of them who were Grammar School boys. This would be true, but it has to be borne in mind that a relatively poor level of employment is a general characteristic of delinquents. There are no figures known to us which can be used for comparison with the results achieved by us. Even if there were, comparisons of the results achieved, whether in terms of re-appearance in a Court, or of level of employment, or any other criterion must be made very cautiously and must take account of the type of selection of the boys being trained. Undoubtedly, our boys have been a specially selected sample. We think the sample contained a very large proportion of difficult problems, but this can only be an opinion, and might be denied (though strongly supported by the opinions of experienced Police Officers who had dealings with some of these boys). If our opinion is well based, it would be unfair not to take account of it in making comparisons. We feel that in a substantial proportion of cases we have achieved results which could not have been achieved otherwise. In some instances the change in some of the most disturbed boys has been striking.

Of course, we have had failures. Of those who have proved resistant to our way of living a small number have responded to other disciplines, and so are among the successes of reformative methods, if not of this particular school. With the greater number of those who have failed at Kneesworth Hall, it has been shown that they have continued to fail elsewhere, and these present, not merely ourselves, but Society generally, with a problem so far unsolved. Nevertheless, even with these we have kept in contact and have been gratified by the welcome given to our continuing efforts by Governors of Borstals and Prisons.

Among the first 30 boys admitted to Kneesworth Hall there were no fewer than 11 of this kind. They ranged from the petty nuisance to the really dangerous. We should have wished, had space allowed, to have described some of these boys in detail; such as the boy who committed no offences whilst he was with us, but carried out 26 burglaries soon after he had left; or the boy who had 40 stolen cars on his record before he came but has never interfered with one since; of the Public Schoolboy who inherits a fortune when he is 21; of the cleverest of all who once told the Headmaster, 'With my brains and your experience we could run this School'; of the notorious absconder from three other Approved Schools who somehow decided to stay when he came to us; of the most colourful liar who spoke the truth only once, when he truthfully claimed descent from a well-known historical character, and as usual was not believed; of the irresponsible who called out all the Fire Brigades of the County on a false

alarm, but also courageously stopped a runaway race-horse. There were many others who demanded from us all we had to give.

SOME COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS GROUP

All these boys, whilst displaying widely differing personalities, have a number of characteristics in common. Besides their intelligence, which, if it does not often direct their conduct, increases the range of damage they can do, they are usually very talented on the artistic side. Sometimes in their writing, but more often in painting, modelling, carving or mimicry they display a sensibility out of the ordinary: but they rarely value their gifts. In appearance they are often attractive, and among strangers they can be well-mannered and unselfconscious. Many have natural charm, and those without it can often summon up a counterfeit to further their own ends. They are often good talkers, prepared to give their opinion on any subject. They are avid for approval and demonstrations of affection, frequently demanding, as one boy put it, ' all or nothing ', so that they can be very jealous of one another. They consider that their company is reward enough for all they receive, and very little comes from them. When they are getting what they consider to be their due, their behaviour can be good ; once they feel a coolness in other people towards them, or some favour is withheld, their reaction may be violent temper, grim moodiness, or the committing of an offence impulsively. All of them are prepared to maintain that ' looking out for themselves ' is the only guiding principle in life, and though they may associate with others for particular activities which interest them at the moment, they never make friends. They are reluctant to put any effort into earning things they want, and are convinced that they are clever enough to obtain them without this. They are never tired of talking about themselves, but are amazingly ignorant of the boy who sleeps in the next bed. Though they appear to respond affectionately when affection is offered, whenever the moral demands of friendship are made upon them, a hard core is reached into which there seems to be no way of penetrating. And if this tough integument is so much as pricked, it is not unusual to see the whole facial expression change, and suddenly the charming laughing boy looks murder out of his eyes. Essentially they are untouchable. Some few, as we have shown, make a good adjustment to their surroundings and admit other people to the outer courts of their fastnesses. Provided they do not come up against circumstances which thrust strongly against their inner defences they may get by in life, and even be numbered amongst the successes. Rarely, we should feel, could one of them do better than this, and open himself up to a full and satisfying relationship with another person.

The presence in the School of such a large number of boys of this kind was at first very disturbing to the rest. Though our experience leads us to believe that there is no such thing as an intelligent delinquent who is also stable, many of them can be helped, and can become, in the course of time, happy persons. These were in danger of being upset and retarded in their progress by this other group. To the psychopaths themselves, the example of those of their number who were transferred to other Schools or to Borstal had little effect ; they scarcely seemed to notice their going. Yet each in the course of time seemed to decide that Kneesworth Hall suited him very well. They often became the most active supporters of the community, and even called special meetings to deal with those whom they considered outside the pale. These meetings never came to anything since they could never agree, and the only boy who knew what he wanted was the one whom they were arraigning. The price of this energetic co operation was minor delinquencies in place of the serious offences they committed before they came, but with many of them we felt certain that once they left the school they would resume their former patterns of behaviour.

The best of this group are the nuisances, and the worst are the public dangers. The only solution seems to be to confine them for a very long time, not in an obvious prison, but in a place of security like Herstedvester in Denmark, where they can lead a comparatively normal life, but from where there is no possibility of escape. For such a community to offer the hope of restoring to society some few of the less hardened, it would need to have at its head persons capable of inspiring these young men with confidence and trust, with whom their relationship was one of friendship and not fear. Even for those likely to remain permanently, it would be people of this kind who would be most successful.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

We have not been able to find satisfying answers to all the questions which this experiment has raised, but we have found conclusions about a number of them taking shape in our minds. Among the most important are these:

(i) The younger a boy arrives at a school of this kind, the more hope there is of restoring him to normality. This does not merely imply sending younger boys to this particular school, for the older ones have still got to go somewhere. It suggests the desirability of detecting signs of disturbance much earlier and of starting treatment even before the boy has committed a legal offence.

(ii) The optimum size of a school run on these lines seems to us to be 40 to 50 in one unit. Internally it should be possible to break this number down

further into smaller units for eating, sleeping and other activities. A few boys make much better progress if each can have a room of his own.

(iii) Though the school never had more than 40 boys, we were receiving from Magistrates and Probation Officers an increasing number of enquiries about vacancies as Kneesworth Hall became better known. This leads us to suspect that there may be many more than 50 senior boys of high intelligence suitable for training in Approved Schools at any one time, so that more than one School might be needed.

(iv) The range of intelligence should not be too wide. A boy as high as I.Q. 150 or as low as I.Q. 110 will feel out of place in a group ranging from 120–130.

(v) On the other hand, a fairly wide range of chronological age does not appear to matter so much, provided that ages are fairly evenly spread, so that none stands out as noticeably younger or older than the rest.

(vi) It is as well to regard every boy as emotionally disturbed to some degree (but not, of course, to encourage him to think of himself as a 'case'), and to give first importance to the task of meeting emotional problems. This done, there might be some chance of academic success, or success in technical training.

(vii) The psychiatrist diagnoses and advises on the plan of treatment. The essence of treatment is not the 'psycho-therapeutic interview' but the therapeutic environment.

(viii) It is essential to treat each boy as an individual and on his merits.

(ix) A boy must be given facilities to pursue special interests (e.g., one became an active member of the Cambridge Bird Club). Achievement in such special interests helps to build up confidence.

(x) The discipline has to be consistent and just. If it is flexible it is not necessarily lax. The formalities of set disciplines and restrictions for the sake of convention are not accepted by intelligent boys. They want to know and see why a restriction is necessary. They are clever enough to defeat any restrictive measures which they do not accept to some degree as necessary.

(xi) Many failures are inevitable, but not all of these are complete failures, and when it is acceptable, the parent school should continue to offer its assistance to the boy wherever he may be.

(xii) Few academic successes can be expected. The boys' work is rarely commensurate with their abilities, but though powers of concentration and persistence are relatively poor, their superior intelligence shows itself, erratically perhaps, but often. They benefit from an intellectual atmosphere.

(xiii) A healthy tradition takes a year or two at least to create.

(xiv) A warm attachment to his school, or to individual persons within it, is a strong power for good once the boy has left, outweighing in effect the

efforts, however conscientious, of any persons appointed to supervise them. Not more than one or two boys who have left Kneesworth Hall have shown no signs of this attachment.

(xv) In members of the Staff, wisdom, kindliness, straightforwardness and level-headedness are of greater importance than other qualifications, professional or social. Granted these things first, a wide variety of levels of intellect, personality and experience is an advantage. Living in this open way with numbers of unstable personalities puts a great strain on the emotional resources of the Staff, and they may themselves become disturbed or get too involved in the problems of individual boys. It is best to have a nucleus of the tried and experienced and not to be too much alarmed by fairly frequent changes among the rest.

SUMMARY

We have shown that with many boys who came to us the position was desperate from the start, but that whilst they were with us their danger to society was appreciably diminished. For the larger number, still greatly disturbed when they came, we feel that we have been able to do more. Looking back over this period we can see mistakes we have made with individual boys; methods that at first seemed hopeful but later had to be abandoned; gifted people who came to us who could not somehow fit in; opportunities we let go by. Allowing for all this, we met nothing in those three years which has made us doubt our basic attitude to these problems. We are more than ever convinced that to make these boys members of a large family, rather than inmates of an Institution, is the only way of doing lasting good to them. When we are depressed, as we sometimes are, by the failure of a promising boy, we take comfort from a letter written to us by one of our boys now in Borstal. 'I appreciate your letters, your advice, and even the knowledge of your existence', he wrote, 'You gave me my sense of reason; you showed me the light. For my ungrateful return let me now feel what sharp distress I may. God bless you and forgive me'.

Respect for observation as opposed to tradition is difficult and (one might almost say) contrary to human nature . . . Few people can be convinced that an obnoxious habit—*e.g.*, exhibitionism—cannot be cured by punishment. It is pleasant to punish those who shock us, and we do not like to admit that indulgence in this pleasure is not always socially desirable.

BERTRAND RUSSELL. 'The Impact of Science on Society', p. 18 (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952)

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from* V. III, *p.* 124)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXIX. HISTORY OF THE HOWARD LEAGUE

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information :* A. G. Rose, Department of Social Studies, University College, Hull.

(2) *Subject of Research :* A study of the history and influence of the Howard League for Penal Reform in London.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out ?* Department of Social Studies. *Research Worker :* A. G. Rose. With the approval and co-operation of the Howard League.

(4) *Started :* April, 1953.

(5) Department of Social Studies, University College, Hull.

XXX. AN ANALYSIS OF 500 APPROVED SCHOOL RECORDS

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information :* A. G. Rose, Department of Social Studies, University College, Hull.

(2) *Subject of Research :* An analysis of 500 Personality Rating Forms, together with selected data from previous and subsequent careers, supplied by Shawbury School (a short-term approved school).

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out ?* The Managers and Headmaster of the School. Grant aid from the University of London Central Research Fund.

(4) *Started :* December 1952. Completion expected, October 1953.

(5) *Publication :* No results so far published.

XXXI. GROUP RELATIONS IN A BORSTAL INSTITUTION

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information :* A. G. Rose, Department of Social Studies, University College, Hull.

(2) *Subject of Research :* A study of groupings, and their relation to training and to subsequent development in H.M. Borstal Institution, North Sea Camp. A record is being compiled of the associations of each boy in various routine situations, supplemented by opinions of the staff and case material. Questionnaires will be sent to the boy's associate six months after discharge, and again one year after discharge.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out ?* Department of Social Studies, University College, Hull. *Research Worker :* A. G. Rose. With the approval of the Prison Commissioners and the Probation Division, Home Office : and with the co-operation of the staff of North Sea Camp, and Borstal Aftercare.

(4) *Started :* December, 1952. Completion expected in about three years' time.

(5) *Publication :* No results so far published.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

Ponds

Ponds, the Henderson Trust Home for emotionally disturbed children aged 7 to 12, opened in November 1950. It is intended to meet the needs of children appearing before the London Juvenile Courts who seem to require residential psychiatric treatment, but cannot properly be dealt with as maladjusted under the Education Act of 1944. Ponds is an experimental Home run by the National Association for Mental Health. The Home Office, the London County Council, and the London Juvenile Court Magistrates are all represented on the Board of Governors. Ponds attempts to deal with the whole situation that has resulted in emotional disturbance and delinquency by treating the child for 12 to 15 months, and simultaneously treating the family. The aim is always that the child while at Ponds should develop greater stability, tolerance, and the capacity to make good relationships, and then return to a more understanding and sympathetic family circle. To achieve this, the Psychiatrist and Psychiatric Social Worker collaborate closely with the staff at Ponds. The Psychiatrist visits Ponds each week, and holds sessions with the children. The Psychiatric Social Worker visits the homes regularly. Together they see the parents in London, either for individual interviews, or for group discussions with several parents.

Ponds is an old country house converted for the purpose, and situated near Beaconsfield, about 25 miles from London. The children's home ties are maintained by visiting days every month, when parents are encouraged to visit, and by short holidays at home at Christmas, Easter, and in the summer. Towards the end of their stay at Ponds, the children are gradually reintroduced to family life by going home for the week-end every fortnight, and ultimately every week. Ponds takes up to twenty-three children. It had been hoped to have nearly equal numbers of boys and girls, but there seem to be few girls who fit the requirements, and in fact there are usually about five girls and sixteen or seventeen boys. The children are divided into three groups, under the care of a housemaster or housemother. Each group has its own dining room, and as far as possible the sleeping arrangements are by groups. There are nine bedrooms of varying size, none having more than four beds. Ponds tries to develop the spirit of a community in which each child has a place and is wanted. The groups hold regular meetings to discuss ideas and to air grievances, and elect captains who take their views to a weekly meeting with the Warden. The staff also meet every week to consider the children's suggestions and to discuss their progress. As far as possible an authoritarian dispensation of discipline is avoided, but there are rules and a definite framework of routine to which the children must conform. There is no corporal punishment, and it is tried to make any necessary punishment a natural consequence of the wrongdoing.

The children have considerable freedom in the use of their leisure time. Those who have shown themselves to be trustworthy are allowed to go out on their own. Constructive activities are popular, and woodwork, plastics, puppetry, painting and gardening are provided. There are swimming parties and a weekly visit to the cinema. Dressing up and play acting are favourite pastimes, and occasionally

quite spontaneously the children will work out in drama their own emotional problems. There is a voluntary Church party on Sundays, and about a third of the children go regularly, and nearly all of them now and again.

The five acres of wooded grounds provide scope for many exciting imaginative games, and give a legitimate outlet for the strong aggressive impulses that most of the children have. During the summer children sometimes camp out in the grounds at week-ends, and organized camps are held by the Thames at Whitsuntide and in August. The children respond particularly well to the primitive conditions and intimacy of camp life. When Ponds started, they all went out to local schools. This was not found very satisfactory, for though only children of normal or superior intelligence are accepted, they are nearly all very backward in attainment, and their behaviour disorders also caused difficulties. Accordingly an informal school was started at Ponds, and all new children attend this school for several months. This confines any early phase of destructiveness and difficult behaviour to Ponds, and the children receive intensive coaching which enables them to go to outside school without such a big educational handicap.

The children show the usual symptoms of emotional disturbance. Stealing, lying, anxiety, soiling, enuresis, destructiveness, impatience, aggressiveness, and intense jealousy are all manifested. Many of them when they first come to Ponds are very withdrawn, and seem incapable of forming any satisfactory human relationship. Usually as the children emerge from this withdrawn state and begin to form attachments, they become difficult and aggressive, as though they must test out the strength of the new ties of affection. A steady affection from the staff, and constant approval of the child however much his *actions* may be disapproved, are essential features of Ponds methods. Once the child realizes that he is wanted and loved however 'wicked' he may be, there is hope for the future, and a good chance that the ability to trust people again will be transferred to the parents.

It is interesting to note that of the forty-two children who have come to Ponds, at least twenty-three have had separations from both parents of six months or longer before the age of seven. Eleven have step parents, one has foster parents, and seven, as a result of death or desertion, have only one effective parent. Seventeen of them have come as a requirement of a Probation Order, ten as a requirement of a Supervision Order, and fifteen of them are in the care of the London County Council.

It is too early yet to attempt to assess results, but there are hopeful indications that by these methods many unhappy and disturbed children can be restored to normal happy family life. There are signs too that some very disturbed children may need longer than a year at Ponds, and this is under consideration. Careful selection of children for Ponds is imperative, as the experiment can only hope to succeed where there is a real chance of co-operation on the part of the parents. This co-operation is continued after the children leave Ponds by home visits, and reunions for the children in London, at Ponds, and in camp. Where necessary the Psychiatrist continues to see the parents and children, and through this aftercare it is hoped that the improved family situation will be stabilized.

PHILIP HUGHES, B.A.

Long Term Results of Probation for Adults (Birmingham)

Five years have elapsed since 1947 and in order to ascertain the long term results of those probation cases which were completed satisfactorily in that year the criminal records were checked, with the co-operation of the Police, up to the end of 1952. The cases concerned were those in which the probation orders were made by Birmingham Courts only and did not include those transferred to Birmingham from other areas.

In the first place it was appreciated that the orders were made, and supervision exercised, in a difficult period, namely 1944–1947, and having regard to this it was not surprising that there was a high proportion of women who completed probation in 1947.

Of the 97 males who completed probation satisfactorily in that year 22 have since been reconvicted but one of these was for wandering only, having been placed on probation for larceny. This man, now aged 23, was mentally unstable and so far as his social background was concerned he had been evacuated early in the war when aged 9 years and his parents then deserted him. They have not since been traced.

Two others were again charged for petty larceny in 1947 shortly after completing their probation but have not again been convicted in the following five years and one may, with some justification, include these cases as being successfully rehabilitated.

In arriving at an assessment of success and failure the cases which terminated in 1947 by either reconviction or breach of order should be taken into account. There were 24 such cases so this brings the final figure of success to 64·5%, although it cannot be said that the efforts of probation officers have been entirely wasted in all cases which failed in 1947. However, the Police were not asked to check the further convictions of these people.

Seventy-two females completed their probation periods satisfactorily and 16 of these were reconvicted. Included in this total was one woman, on probation for larceny, who was charged with assaulting another woman. Two women were convicted of larceny in 1947 shortly after completing probation, but have not again appeared before the Courts.

Sixteen women failed on probation in 1947 so that the final figure of success could be assessed as 64·8%.

Previous Probation

Number	*Sex*	*Total*	*Not Reconvicted*	*Again Convicted*
1	Male	12	5	7
	Female	9	9	–
2	Male	3	2	1
	Female	1	–	1
3 or more	Male	Nil		
	Female			

PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS (IGNORING TRAFFIC, DRINK OFFENCES, ETC.)

Number	*Sex*	*Total*	*Not Reconvicted*	*Again Convicted*
1	Male	13	12	1
	Female	7	4	3
2	Male	5	3	2
	Female	4	4	–
3	Male	1	1	–
	Female	2	2	–
6	Male	1	1	–
	Female	–	–	–
7	Male	1	–	1

In the last case of a man with seven previous convictions he again appeared in Court shortly after completing his probation in 1947 but has not again been convicted.

Of the male persons with previous convictions three had served prison sentences totalling two years, seven months and two months respectively. Only one of these, the man with seven previous convictions and who had served seven months in Prison, has been reconvicted, as mentioned above.

Of the females four had served terms of imprisonment of six months, two of three months and two months respectively. None of these women has been recharged.

AGE GROUPS

	Total	*Not Re-convicted*	*Again Convicted*	*Percentage of Success*
17–20 Males	64	51	13	79·6
17–20 Females	24	18	6	79·2
21–25 Males	11	7	4	63·6
21–25 Females	14	10	4	71·4
26–30 Males	11	7	4	63·6
26–30 Females	14	10	4	71·4
31–40 Males	5	4	1	80·0
31–40 Females	11	9	2	81·8
41–50 Males	5	5	–	100·0
41–50 Females	6	5	1	83·3
51–60 Males	1	1	–	100·0
51–60 Females	3	3	–	100·0

OFFENCES

Males. Most offences concerned property and of 89 cases in this category 21 were reconvicted. Of eight sexual offenders one only was reconvicted.

Females. Of 52 offences against property 11 were reconvicted whilst of 4

people on probation for wandering abroad one was reconvicted. 2 of 4 women on probation for soliciting were reconvicted. One woman on probation for incest was recharged, whilst another on probation for assault was reconvicted. There were two cases of infanticide, one 'allow children to reside in a brothel' one 'neglect child', one 'abandon child', and five attempted suicide, none of whom has been reconvicted.

Mental State

		Total	*Not Re-convicted*	*Again Convicted*
Mentally deficient or feeble minded	Males	13	9	4
	Females	11	8	3
Mental illness	Males	9	6	3
	Females	7	5	2
Educationally backward	Males	7	5	2
	Females	3	2	1

Of the four mentally deficient males reconvicted one 18-year old youth had spent six years in a mental colony, whilst the mental illnesses of the males were as a result of war service.

General Observations

The fact that people had previously been placed on probation, or had previous convictions, did not necessarily mean that they would fail when given a further opportunity to lead law-abiding lives.

Regarding ages it was interesting to note that of the males 37 were aged 17 and 13 aged 18 years, both groups being concerned in conscription, as indeed they are to-day. None was serving in H.M. Forces when placed on probation.

When dealing with probationers officers are frequently dealing with mental states which are almost incapable of absorbing instruction and guidance as to future conduct. Of 169 males and females 40 were mentally deficient or feeble minded and of these 28 have not again been before a Court. Of 10 persons who were educationally backward 7 have not been reconvicted.

A. Worthy,
Birmingham.

A Recent Judicial Interpretation of the M'Naghten Rules

The present law relating to the criminal responsibility of mentally disordered persons was laid down one hundred and ten years ago. It is contained in the answers given by the Judges in 1843 to five questions propounded to them by the House of Lords. The formulation of these questions resulted from a debate in the House of Lords upon the result of the trial of Daniel M'Naghten.

The M'Naghten case itself was an interesting one. M'Naghten killed the secretary of Sir Robert Peel, the Tory Prime Minister, by shooting him in the back as he was walking in Whitehall. Here are M'Naghten's own words in which he sought to explain to the magistrate who committed him for trial, why he had done this act :

' The Tories in my native city have compelled me to do this. They follow and persecute me wherever I go, and have entirely destroyed my peace of mind. They followed me to France, into Scotland and all over England ; in fact, they follow me wherever I go. I can get no rest for them night or day. I cannot sleep at night in consequence of the course they pursue towards me. I believe they have driven me into a consumption. I am sure I shall never be the man I formerly was. I used to have good health and strength, but I have not now. They have accused me of crimes of which I am not guilty ; they do everything in their power to harass and persecute me ; in fact they wish to murder me. It can be proved by evidence. That's all I have to say '.

Whilst M'Naghten was in prison awaiting his trial, he told a party of doctors who visited him, according to one of them who afterwards gave evidence at the trial, ' that the person at whom he fired gave him as he passed a scowling look. At that moment, all the feelings of months and years rushed into his mind and he thought that he could only obtain peace by shooting him '. Asked as to whether he thought it was Sir Robert Peel he had shot, ' he hesitated and paused and at length said he was not sure whether it was Sir Robert Peel or not '.

M'Naghten was tried for murder. The defence was insanity. The trial resulted in an acquittal on the ground of insanity. The verdict was unpopular in the country ; hence the debate which followed it. The answers given by the Judges to the five questions put to them constitute the M'Naghten rules. Of these rules, the one which most frequently arises for discussion in practice is this :

' Every man is to be presumed to be sane and to possess a sufficient degree of reason to be responsible for his crimes until the contrary be proved to the satisfaction of the jury ; and that to establish a defence on the ground of insanity, it must be clearly proved that at the time of committing the act, the accused was labouring under such a defect of reason, from disease of the mind as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing ; or, if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong '.

One of the questions raised by the wording of this rule is whether the word ' wrong ' at the end of the last sentence means wrong legally or morally. It is curious that over a century should elapse after the formulation of this rule before a case should arise which raises this question in an acute form, so as to elicit a judicially authoritative answer.

It has been generally considered hitherto that in this context ' wrong ' means morally wrong. Thus, to take an illustration from a text book which is put into the hands of almost every law student, the late Professor Kenny in his ' Outlines of Criminal Law ' states that ' wrong ' here means ' wrong morally ' and this statement is repeated in the latest (1952) edition of this standard work. So, too, Dr. Glover in his ' Notes on the M'Naghten Rules ', *Brit. J. Delinq.*, vol. 1, page 278, says that the phrase ' that he did not know what he was doing was wrong ' ' implies a disorder or absence of the moral faculties '.

It has now been held by the Court of Criminal Appeal in The Queen v. Windle

that ' wrong ' in this context does not mean ' morally wrong ' but ' contrary to law '. From this it follows that the phrase ' that he did not know he was doing what was wrong ' implies not a disorder or absence of the moral faculties, but an ignorance of the law of the land.

As Windle's case is of interest both from a legal and a psychological standpoint, the facts are worth setting out in detail.

Windle was charged with the murder of his wife by administering aspirin with intent to kill her. The psychiatrist who is one of the joint-authors of this article saw him whilst he was in custody at the prison hospital before his trial and gave evidence for the defence at the trial. When at the prison hospital awaiting his trial, Windle was well co-ordinated, without showing much emotion. He proved to be of low intelligence, but within the normal range.

Windle was born into a working-class family which was in moderately good financial circumstances. He was the youngest of seven children. His intelligence was below the general level of intelligence prevailing among the other members of the family. His eye-sight was defective. His physical and mental handicaps combined with his position in the family to make him the ' spoilt baby '.

After leaving school at the age of fourteen, he started to learn weaving, but was soon compelled to give this up because of his defective eye-sight. He then had a series of occupations, including that of a gardener and a milk roundsman, after which he spent some time in forestry under a Government training scheme. After that, his mother tried to establish him in a small poultry farm. Then came the war, and he served in the Royal Pioneer Corps as a private soldier for five and a half years. After he was discharged from the army, and being thrown on his own resources, he went to live at a Salvation Army hostel, where he stayed for about six months. During this period, he spent his army gratuity freely. It appears that after the gratuity was spent, his family decided to help him again and his eldest brother asked him to live at his house. This he did for three months, after which he stayed for a further three months with another brother. He was unable to settle down, however, and after a quarrel he was told to leave this brother's house. He then decided to go to Birmingham. There, after several changes of employment within a short time, he met his wife. At their first meeting, she told him that she had come out of hospital on the previous day and that she lived and worked at a hotel in Birmingham. At this meeting, he gave her, apparently on his own initiative, all the money he possessed, which amounted to four pounds, ' in order ', as he explained, ' to see what kind of woman she was '. She returned this money to him on the following day. They were married within a few weeks. Windle, who was then thirty-six years of age, knew that his wife was older than he, but he had no idea of her exact age. In fact she was eighteen years his senior. She had been an in-patient in a mental hospital, suffering from depression. She had on one occasion attempted suicide by gas poisoning. She was domineering, quarrelsome and nagged her husband constantly. She had served a sentence of imprisonment, during which she proved so unrestrained that special disciplinary measures were taken by the prison authorities. From their first meeting he fell under her domination, and so remained until her death four years later. Under her influence he was for the first time able to stay in one employment. For the first two years of the marriage, the wife was markedly overactive. During the last two years, she was depressive and for the last few months

of her life she refused to carry out any household tasks, and remained in bed for most of the day. Her one wish was to die. By this time she had developed all the symptoms of a severe depression She repeatedly threatened to commit suicide. She refused to see a doctor and frequently asked her husband to give her something to put an end to her life. Finally breaking down under the accumulated strain, her husband yielded to her entreaties. He put about a hundred aspirin tablets into a cup, and added water. He then put the cup on the living-room table whilst his wife was in the lavatory. When his wife returned to the living-room, she took the cup in her hands and contrived to consume the contents. Her husband asked her how it tasted and she replied : ' like Epsom salts '. She was in the habit of taking aspirin in ordinary doses. After a short time she began to shout and to scream. The husband called the doctor. When she saw the doctor, however, she began to behave in a composed manner. She told the doctor that she was not ill and that she did not feel any pain. She also denied taking any aspirin. Her husband was unable to bring himself to contradict this denial. A few minutes later she collapsed. Her husband was then for the first time able to give a true account of what had happened. Mrs. Windle died in hospital a few hours later.[1]

The picture presented by these facts is that of a man physically and mentally handicapped, living under the protection of his family, and then, after unsuccessful attempts to settle in various forms of work, achieving relative stability under the protective régime of the army ; then, after leaving the army, more drifting until meeting his wife and then falling completely under her influence from the day of their first meeting until the day of her death. The relationship was one of complete domination on her side and complete submission on his. It thus followed the pattern of an intense mother-fixation. The functioning of the husband's super-ego was superseded by his wife ; henceforth, he related all his actions to the demands of this wife-mother.

For the first two years of the marriage, whilst the wife was in a hypomanic phase, her influence over her husband had a beneficial effect upon him. He worked steadily, and appeared to be settled. When the wife moved into the depressive phase, the effect upon the husband was very marked. Although he was still as dependent upon her as before, her progressively increasing inertia forced him into increased activity concerned with looking after his wife and their home. This increased activity produced considerable strain upon him, which, as time went on, became so marked that towards the end it was obvious even to people who came only casually into contact with him. He was unable to meet the demands, in the shape of increased domestic responsibility, which the deterioration in the condition of his wife made upon him. In this phase, at least, the mother-son pattern of relationship should have given way to a more mature pattern. The husband realized the danger that his wife might commit suicide, but he was unable to bring himself to call in a doctor in defiance of her express wishes. In her depression, the wife was unable to translate unaided into action her desire for death. In the end, however, her influence over her husband enabled

[1] R. v. Windle is reported at: (1952) Vol. 2, *Queen's Bench Reports*, p. 826 ; (1952) Vol. 2, *All England Reports*, p. 1 ; (1952) Vol. 1, *Times Law Reports*, p. 1344 ; Vol. 36 *Criminal Appeal Reports*, p. 85 ; Vol. 116, *Justice of the Peace Reports*, p. 365 ; Vol. 96, *Solicitors Journal*, p. 379.

her to make him instrumental in achieving her desire. When she demanded that he put the fatal cup within her grasp, he was unable to resist her demand. The last obstacle to the attainment of her desire was thus overcome. Moreover, as the husband's moral code was entirely that of his wife, he was unable to perceive that in lending his assistance to his wife in her plan to destroy her life, he was doing something which was morally wrong. His ability to act or even to think independently of his wife was paralysed by her influence over him.

Within the recognized categories of mental diseases of which descriptions are to be found in text books, this condition seems to contain the factors typical for folie à deux, or communicated insanity. To quote from a text-book in common use, Henderson & Gillespie say: 'Folie à deux or communicated insanity . . . is the term applied when two persons closely associated with one another suffer a psychosis simultaneously, and when one member of the pair appears to have influenced the other . . .'[2] In the present case, we have the typical setting of a married couple where one partner—the wife—is a very strong personality, and the other a very weak one completely dependent on her. The wife becomes mentally ill, severely depressed and markedly suicidal. The husband remains so completely under her influence that he is unable to extricate himself from it, however inordinate her demands become. The fact that the husband was unable to give a true account of the taking of the aspirin by his wife until he had seen her collapse and realized that she was dying, illustrates how his dependence on her continued to the end.

At Windle's trial, the defence was insanity. The evidence given in support of that defence was to the effect that at the time Windle committed the act charged, he was labouring under such a defect of reason from disease of the mind that although he knew the nature and quality of the act he was doing, and knew that it was contrary to law, he did not know that it was morally wrong.

The Judge ruled that this evidence did not bring the case within the M'Naghten rules, and he withdrew the defence of insanity from the jury, who returned a verdict of guilty of murder. Windle was sentenced to death, and on appeal, the Court of Criminal Appeal upheld the conviction and agreed with the Judge's interpretation of the M'Naghten rules. It is interesting to note that none of the three Judges who composed the Court which heard the appeal referred to any previous case in which the interpretation had been put upon the rule in question which they unhesitatingly and unanimously put. The death sentence was subsequently commuted.

For the purpose of giving evidence at the trial, it was perforce accepted that the concept of 'knowing' as applied to a mentally normal person is applicable to the mentally disturbed. One of the difficulties involved in attempting to co-relate, for evidential purposes, the assessment of a particular case with the formula of the M'Naghten rules, however, revolves round the difficulty of applying the concept of knowledge and the process of knowing to a disordered mind. Knowledge is influenced by affects. One cannot draw upon one's knowledge, that is, one cannot use one's judgment, if one is under excessively strong affects. Thus, to quote again from Henderson & Gillespie's text-book: 'It is now generally admitted that judgment is much more dependent on affect than was formerly

[2] 'A Text-book of Psychiatry'—Henderson & Gillespie. Oxford Medical Publications, 1950, p. 123.

believed. A delusion is the result of a judgment in which affect has had excessive weight '.[3] Quite apart from this consideration, however, to determine the state of a person's mind by reference to his knowledge of the law is psychologically unsound. The part of the mind which plays the major part in adapting man's actions to the requirements of his social environment is the super-ego. The inhibiting factor against committing criminal acts is not the rule of law which makes the acts into crimes, but the censorship of the super-ego. It is only insofar as rules of law are co-extensive and concurrent with the moral rules incorporated into the super-ego that law can influence the mind so as to exert an inhibiting influence upon action. The indication of mental abnormality is the failure of the super-ego to inhibit action, not the intellectual failure to appreciate that the action is forbidden by law. Since the super-ego incorporates moral, and not legal rules as such, it would be more in accordance with psychological realities if the state of an accused person's mind were determined by reference to his appreciation of generally accepted moral rules, rather than by reference to his knowledge of the law.

The decision in Windle's case widens the gap between the notions of insanity acted upon in the Courts, and modern psychological knowledge. It therefore increases the urgency of the necessity for a revision of the law relating to the criminal responsibility of mentally abnormal persons. One argument which is frequently put forward in answer to suggestions that the time has come for a revision of the M'Naghten rules is that in practice, the law is much better adapted to modern ideas than would appear from a consideration of the wording of the rules. Thus, the late Lord Atkin, in an address to the Medico-Legal Society in 1925 (See volume 159, *Law Times Journal*, page 436) said that the application of the law relating to insanity ' is very much more generally liberal than would be the case if it were carried out in strict accordance with the letter '.

We think we can discern at the present time a tendency towards illiberality in the application of this branch of the law. In our view, Windle's case exemplifies, and will increase, this tendency. In more than one recent case concerning charges of murder, the defence of insanity, although supported by evidence from medical witnesses, has been rejected and the death sentence passed and, in at least one such case, carried out (see R. v. Rivett 34 C.A.R. 87). We have the impression that this has occurred in cases where, a few years ago, the defence of insanity would have been accepted. If this impression is correct, it illustrates the need for a review of this branch of the law.

D. R. Ellison, M.A. (Oxon),
Barrister-at-Law.
H. E. Haas, M.D. (Cologne),
Consulting Psychiatrist.

Probation In Singapore

The development of the Probation Service in this Colony follows closely the established pattern existing in the United Kingdom. Two Case Committees, one for juveniles and one for adult probationers appointed in March 1952 meet monthly to receive reports on the progress of probationers and to assist and

[3] *Loc. cit.*

advise probation officers in difficult cases. In addition to their duties in connection with Court cases, probation officers also deal with refractory and problem children, and are occasionally asked to help with the aftercare of prisoners.

The main difference between the handling of juvenile and adult probationers is that, with the former, the probation officer is invariably dependent on the co-operation of the parents without which the case is likely to end in failure. The willingness of the parents to co-operate is often the deciding factor in considering the suitability of a child for probation. With adult probation is it the character of the offender himself which is of paramount importance. The adult probationer is often better able to understand what the probation service is seeking to do for him, whereas the juvenile, on account of his immaturity, is usually shy or impulsive and liable to act impetuously, often by absconding from home, and consequently from his responsibilities. Though the technique in handling each group differs, the general principles of supervision remain the same.

During the period 1949-1952, of 413 juveniles found guilty of serious offences probation orders were made in respect of 280, whilst 133 were committed to Approved Schools. The following figures in respect of these 413 cases are of interest :

	Living in broken homes	*Not living at home*	*Living with both natural parents*	*Total*
Probationers	127	10	143	280
Juveniles committed to institutions	86	18	29	133

In this Colony the broken home is often associated with poverty ; and poverty often goes hand in hand with lack of schooling. Of the 280 cases placed on probation, it was found that only 89 were attending school, whilst, of the 133 committed to institutions, only 8 were found to be attending school at the time when they were brought before the Juvenile Court. Another important contributory factor to juvenile delinquency is overcrowding ; 168 out of 280 probationers were found to be living in overcrowded homes ; similar figures for those committed to institutions were 77 out of 133. Our observations seem to indicate that social conditions in Singapore, although better than in most cities of the East, are less favourable than in the United Kingdom, where poverty and overcrowding are less acute, and where schooling is free and compulsory. It follows, therefore, that there is more scope for the use of probation in this Colony, as probation officers can often help to modify the environment of the probationer. In this way a constructive period of probation may prove more effective than a short term of detention where the offender usually returns before long to his former environment.

At the end of 1952, the staff of the Probation Section was made up of one Principal Probation Officer and five probation officers, one of whom is a woman.

In the year 1952, 75 juveniles and 60 adults were placed on probation, while 70 juveniles and 5 adults ended their period of probation without committing fresh offences. Most of the probationers were originally found guilty of offences against property. Thirteen cases, including 3 adults, failed to respond, and of those only 2 juveniles committed fresh offences ; the other 11 cases were brought before the Courts for failure to co-operate and were sentenced for the original

offences committed. Probation officers are aware that it is far better to bring probationers who refuse to co-operate before the Courts so that they may be warned or sentenced for their original offences. Through the vigilance of probation officers and the guidance of the Case Committees 1952 may be classed as a successful year as the failure rate was rather less than 15 per cent.

K. H. TAN,
Principal Probation Officer.

Plan For Checking Juvenile Delinquency

Delivered to Lord Sidmouth by the Committee herein mentioned. December, 20th 1816.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary of State of the Home Department, etc.

The Committee of the City of London Auxiliary National Schools for the Education of the Children of the Poor, on the Madras system and in the Principles of the Established Church, have at several meetings taken into consideration the alarming state of Juvenile Delinquency and have deputed John Blackburn and Joshia Watson Esqres, with their Secretary to submit to your Lordship the annexed Plan, which appears to them best adapted to check this growing evil, and effect a reform in many of the Children of this Metropolis and the vicinity who are now trained up in idle, dissolute and criminal habits.

To effect the desired Reform three things appear essential: first—to remove the children from the haunts of vice which they have frequented and from the companions by whom they have been instigated to crimes; secondly—to give them a moral and Religious Education; and thirdly—to train them by strict discipline to useful labour.

These objects may, it is apprehended, be accomplished by the following plan.

A ship to be provided, capable of containing 250 boys with the officers hereafter specified, and to be fitted up for the purpose both of Education and Labour: the ship to be moored in the river, as near to the Metropolis as may be deemed expedient: the ship to be placed under the management of 12 directors acting gratuitously, and to be appointed by ———:

Powers to be given to the directors to send boys on board the ship and to detain them in it so long as shall appear necessary for the purpose of Reformation; and no boys to be discharged but by an order signed by directors. The boys sent on board the ship to be such as have not been convicted in a Court of Justice to be recommended for admission by the Lord Mayor or any Alderman of the City of London or by a Magistrate of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent. The order for admission upon such recommendation to be signed by directors.

A Marine Guard to be stationed on board the ship to prevent the approach of boats; and no communication to be allowed with the boys except by an order signed by a director. A boat to be provided, to facilitate the communication of the Directors, Surgeon, Chaplain, etc., with the ship. An officer to be provided for the directors on Tower Hill, or in the neighbourhood.

Directors to meet at the office at such times as may be appointed to receive Reports from the Superintendent and Schoolmaster and to transact other business Directors from time to time to visit the ship; also at stated times to make their Report to the Secretary of State.

(Note: A list of estimated expenditures includes the items 'Schoolmaster £150; Frocks and Proper Dress for labour in picking oakum etc. £250' the total annual cost being approximately £6,500.)

'Transcribed from the Sidmouth MSS by A. Farnsworth, LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., and published by kind permission of the late Lord Sidmouth.'

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

	£
A Superintendent to be a Master in the Navy at not higher than the Rank of Lieutenant at a salary of—per annum	200
His provision to be his own charge.	
A Boatswain at 50s.[1] per month	30
3 Boatswain's Mates at 45s. per month	81
A Carpenter at 50s. per month	30
A Cook at 45s. per month	27
Victualling these Six Officers (about)	150
Schoolmaster	150
Victualling 250 boys at £16 each	4,000
Clerk at the Office	120
Messenger 2 at 1 Guinea each per week	110
Coals, Candles, Soap, etc.	250
Bedding for 250 boys will cost about £500—and these should be a double set of Hammocks to allow them to be constantly scrubbed. The average therefore per annum may be about	300
Clothing for 250 boys at £3 each to allow them 2 suits	750
Frocks and proper dress for labour in picking oakum, etc.	250
Medicines about	50
Supposing that an Army or Navy Surgeon may be appointed without any additional expense to Government	
A Ship's Steward	
A Chaplain	

[1] N.B. In the Navy—13 months are allowed to the year—the above calculations are at the rate of 12 only.

(Note by Lord Sidmouth) Rent, coals and candles for the office—fitting up, etc.

REVIEWS

DETENTION IN REMAND HOMES. A Report of the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science, with a preface by L. Radzinowicz, edited by J. W. C. Turner. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1952. Pp. X + 92. Price 12s. 6d.)

Recent controversy about the treatment of the young delinquent has revived, in certain quarters, a demand for more punitive measures. The appearance of a research into the use of section 54 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933 carried out by the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science is therefore most sincerely to be welcomed. It is the more important in view of the setting-up of the detention centre under section 18 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. It is by no means certain, writes Dr. Radzinowicz in his preface, that these centres will succeed where section 54 has failed. For such a view this useful work produces good evidence.

This investigation was made into the records of 959 delinquents sent to remand homes in the four towns of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester during the period 1945 to 1948. The object of the enquiry was four-fold. First, to examine the records of the offenders committed. Second, to study the extent to which the courts used this particular method of punishment, and the principles, if any, underlying their policy. Third, to investigate the treatment provided by the different remand homes. Fourth, to ascertain the success of this treatment.

Among the many interesting conclusions reached by the authors the following points may be observed. The number of committals varied considerably, declining from 364 in 1910 to nil in 1933, and increasing again to 723 in 1949. Detention has been mainly used for offences against property. Over one-half of the offenders sent to detention have come from homes in very poor districts, and over one-quarter from broken homes. There appears to be no agreement among the magistrates in the different areas as to its proper purpose. In Birmingham, for example, the opportunity has been used to give training and guidance, whereas in Liverpool and Manchester the need has been expressed for a strictly punitive regime.

As to the after-histories of the offenders released from detention about 40 % were subsequently committed to approved schools or Borstal. The incidence of success (as defined merely by failure to commit further delinquency) was higher for the older boys and also for the first offenders. Detention was seen to be particularly ineffective in the case of boys with bad records of school attendance.

The authors conclude from their investigation that the failure of the system is due to the differences in the offenders detained rather than to differences in the regime of the remand homes used, though they rightly comment on the notable measure of success achieved by a senior remand home in Birmingham where the positive and reformative aspects of detention have been developed.

Studies of this kind can achieve little more than the quality of the case-records allows. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the main weakness of this investigation is that so little indication is given in it—apart from the interesting observations of the warden of Forhill House Remand Home in Birmingham—of the type of young offender who may be expected to benefit from detention. That it is totally unsuitable for offenders on the verge of habitual delinquency the

authors leave us in little doubt. But if juvenile courts are to avoid the continuation of past mistakes in their use of the new detention centres, there still remains the need for a further study—illustrated by adequate case-histories—of the very limited groups of young delinquent for whom detention is a suitable punishment.

JOHN SPENCER.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL. By George N. Thompson Springfield Illinois : C. C. Thomas. 1953. Pp. xv + 157. Price 32s. 6d.)

This is a short monograph which covers superficially and often incorrectly some of the researches on psychopaths. The bias is toward the constitutional and organic rather than the environmental and ' psychodynamic ', though there is one short chapter giving a summary of psycho-analytical views. The only original contribution would appear to be the attempt to express some of the fact and theories in the terminology of Engrammes, taken from a recent book on general psychiatry of which the writer was a co-author.

D. A. POND.

CRIME INVESTIGATION. By Paul Kirk, Ph.D. (New York and London : Interscience Publishers Inc., 1953. Pp. 806. 161 illust. Price $10.00.)

This important new American book by the professor of biochemistry and criminalistics at the University of California covers the entire field of scientific crime detection for the laboratory expert, setting a high technical standard and contriving to be comprehensive without being encyclopædic. It has nothing for the student of delinquency ; psychiatry has no mention and there is no description of E.E.G., narco-analysis or other lie detector method—or apparatus.

Dr. Kirk is a biochemist with an aptitude for projecting his knowledge of micro-chemical and physical methods into crime investigation ; and here he is a technical success. His book should find its way on to the shelves of the laboratory scientist, but has no real place in the study of delinquency.

KEITH SIMPSON.

THE MAGISTRATES' COURTS ACT AND RULES. By A. J. Chislett. (London : Butterworth & Co. Ltd. 1953. Pp. xvi + 270. Price 32s. 6d.

At long last the law governing procedure in Magistrates' Courts has been collected within reasonable compass and in modern language. Magistrates and their Clerks will give thanks for deliverance from the necessity to peruse the prolix Summary Jurisdiction and Indictable Offences Acts of 1848 and the sixty-two other Statutes which Mr. Chislett informs us are consolidated in the Magistrates Court Act, 1952.

Thanks are also due to Mr. Chislett for producing in book form the Act and Rules, together with his excellent annotation and cross references. The Justices' Clerk with this book to hand will no longer fear those exasperating errors so easy to make, and so awesome when pointed out by higher authority.

This book will probably have only a limited appeal to those who deal with the Courts from a social rather than a legal angle.

OSWALD CARGILL.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE. By John E. Horrocks. (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co. 1951. Pp. xxvi + 614. Price 30s.

Dr. Horrocks' aim, he tells us, has been to produce a textbook for elementary college students and for practical workers. He has made a thorough search of the vast literature bearing on the subject of adolescence, and has compiled a useful summary of the apparent facts. These are illustrated with nearly 70 graphs or diagrams. On the other hand, in the attempt to discriminate those facts that are best established or theoretically significant, and to interpret his data in the light of general psychological knowledge, he has been less successful.

There is an active school of American thought which treats psychology as a compound of neuro-physiology and social anthropology, and so tends to assume that the study of the conscious and unconscious mental processes in and for themselves is superfluous. Dr. Horrocks inclines to accept this standpoint. In his introductory chapter he formulates the somewhat questionable generalization that ' in its non-physical aspects adolescence is culturally determined '. In accordance with this principle his main discussion starts with the effects of cultural conditions and of the relations between the adolescent and other members of the society in which he happens to find himself. These influences have undoubtedly been much neglected in the past ; and Dr. Horrocks' review of recent work is excellent. But the non-American reader might all too easily assume that the cultural conditions prevailing in the United States are typical of conditions in other civilized countries—a common mistake of English students. Dr. Horrocks next works backwards to the intellectual development of the adolescent, and then describes the characteristics of physical and physiological growth throughout this period, with which most writers would ordinarily have started. A long section follows dealing in some detail with ' adolescent interests, activities, and attitudes ' (as manifested by young people in the United States) ; and the whole discussion ends with an ' over-view of adolescent behaviour '.

Throughout the chapters there is scarcely any mention of the contributions of psychoanalytic writers to the various problems raised. The allusions to delinquency are limited to brief notes on the effects of ' rejection ', ' gang membership ', and the reading of ' comics '. As a book of reference, the volume will undoubtedly be serviceable to students making a special study of adolescence ; but as a psychological introduction to the subject it can hardly be recommended to readers in this country.

CYRIL BURT.

A SURVEY OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IN SCHOOLS. M. E. Highfield and A. Pinsent. National Foundation for Education Research in England and Wales. Publication No. 3. Newnes Educational Publishing Co. 1952. pp. xxii + 432. 42s.

This volume presents the results of research carried out by the National Foundation for Educational Research at the request of the Ministry of Education. The aim was to ' undertake an enquiry into the effect on the child of various forms of punishment and reward '. The book is divided into six sections, of which the first and the last are an introduction and a summary. The middle sections deal in turn with the historical development of present day regulations relating to rewards and punishments in schools ; with studies of class room be-

haviour ; with the effectiveness of different types of rewards and punishments from the point of view of the teacher and the pupil respectively ; and finally with a survey of some schools in which corporal punishment has been abolished.

The main results of the practical investigations show that children rated as most difficult and as least difficult in class are respectively least able and most able to conform to the social and scholastic requirements of the class room. Some clues emerged concerning the effectiveness of different types of rewards and punishments on children with different behaviour characteristics. This is an interesting line for future investigation. That difficult behaviour is related to parental discipline was once more confirmed by this investigation. It also appeared that teachers and children have different ideas of the effectiveness of different types of punishment and reward. An interesting conclusion, which corroborates other researches on social climate in children's groups, indicates that where the authoritarian measures associated with corporal punishment are modified such a change must be undertaken rather slowly if it is to be successfully replaced by more democratic measures.

From the point of view of delinquency the results confirm what is already known about the origin of behaviour disorders in children. The report shows clearly that the usefulness of the teacher in school is limited. It points the need for school re-organization if the needs of the difficult child are to be met in school. Much of what is contained in this most excellent summary will interest the teacher and the social worker alike in the problems of how delinquency arises and how the schools can play their part in preventing it or in helping the child already either maladjusted or delinquent.

GERTRUDE KEIR.

TWINS : A STUDY OF THREE PAIRS OF IDENTICAL TWINS. By Dorothy Burlingham. (London: Imago Publishing Co. Ltd. 1952. Pp. x + 94 + 30 charts. Price 35*s*.)

In order to differentiate between the effects of heredity and those of environment, the study of identical (or monozygotic) twins has become an open sesame. In theory there should exist overwhelming lines of concordance in the development of monozygotic twins. True enough, from birth onwards, even twins are open to some different environmental forces, and those who have seized on this twin quality as a scientific instrument of research into possible differences in response have been too easily carried away. It is all very well for example to claim with Lange that crime is destiny. We need close studies of twins in the formative years from infancy to puberty before coming to conclusions regarding the force of monozygotic twinship.

This volume gives a faithful, almost day-to-day record, of three pairs studied in the light of environmental influences, and the first showing of minute temperamental differences. What might be called the mirror relationship of the pairs is strikingly brought out. Work of this character is likely to prove of value in the problems of upbringing, the elucidation of ' twin ' phantasies, and the proper assessment of environment, particularly the way in which sibs are environments to one another. The charts play a disproportionate part in this volume, but their careful study will be rewarding to future research workers in this field.

E. M.

ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH. By Paul H. Landis (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., 2nd Edition 1952. Pp. xii + 461. Price $5·00 or 42s. 6d.)

Professor Landis in his introduction to this revised edition of his book, first published in 1945, states that to think of a human being as a person involves recognition of his status as well as of his individual mental endowment: status can be defined as the social recognition that has been given him by the groups of which he is part. This appears to be the main thesis of his work, and using many illustrative cases from his experience of the impingement of social factors on the maturing personality of the adolescent, Professor Landis stresses particularly their effect in the moral, sexual and economic fields. He rightly feels that the concept of maturation as a physiological process is not wide enough: he stresses the effect of social factors, and he also pays lip service to psychological factors, but without giving due weight to their dynamic quality or deeper importance in forming personality. Hence the book, which in effect must be regarded as a semi-popular work, seems one-sided and unsatisfying. It is also difficult for the British reader to appreciate fully the social significance of his case histories taken from American social settings. There is one chapter entitled 'Factors in Delinquency' which is sketchily written and of little use to students training in delinquency work.

W. WARREN.

PHANTASY IN CHILDHOOD. By Audrey Davidson and Judith Fay. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1952. Pp. viii + 188. Price 18s.)

Dr. Audrey Davidson is a psycho-analyst and both authors are orientated towards the theories of Melanie Klein. Chapters are devoted to oral, anal and genital development of the child with the phantasies relating to these stages.

Many of the cases are drawn from children boarded-out owing to the break-up of their own homes, a back-ground all to familiar to those working with delinquents. According to the authors, their 'phantasies of cruel, retributive parents who punish them by desertion must seem to be confirmed, while their pictures of themselves as omnipotently aggressive and destructive are not offset by the reassurance of an undestroyed family life, such fears and anxieties stifling their ability to love deeply, to experience grief, to make new contacts and to develop'.

The material, presented simply and concisely, could well serve a medical or lay public. It would be especially valuable to teachers or to anyone handling groups of maladjusted children in institutions or homes.

JOAN WARBURG.

THE ANNUAL SURVEY OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS. VOL. I. 1950. Edited by John Frosch. (New York: International Universities Press. 1952. Pp. xvi + 556. Price $10.)

As the title indicates this is the first of a series of volumes in which year by year the literature of psycho-analysis will be condensed, classified and co-ordinated. The scheme is an admirable one and, to judge by the first number, is being carried out admirably. It has only one flaw, namely, that as the reviewers are not permitted to express preferences or criticisms, it is impossible for the student to estimate with any certainty either the value of the various contributions, or the authority of the contributors.

Although primarily a book for the psycho-analytic student, and by reason of its price in any case a library book, some of the sections can be consulted with advantage by the student of delinquency. Interestingly enough there is no special section on delinquency : indeed the paucity of contributions (only one original article by Bettelheim and Sylvester and an anthropological reference in Erikson's ' Childhood and Society ' are quoted ; and incidentally no reference is made to the few psycho-analytical articles on the subject published in this *Journal* during 1950) reflects a remarkable lack of psycho-analytical interest in the subject. Offsetting this neglect, for which in any case the Editor cannot be held responsible, there are valuable sections on ego-development, anthropology and sociology which will repay perusal by delinquency workers.

E. G.

THE YEARBOOK OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS (Vol. VIII). Edited by Sandor Lorand. (New York : International Universities Press. 1952. Pp. 383. Price $7.50.)

This Yearbook maintains its deservedly high reputation. Although the present issue is of less interest to the general worker in delinquency than its predecessors, three papers are worthy of his attention : viz., ' The Contribution of Psycho-analysis to Genetic Psychology ' (Anna Freud) ; ' Early Development of the Ego Identification in Infancy ' (Hendrick) ; and ' Ego Psychology and Interpretation in Psycho-analytic Therapy ' (Kris). Essentially a library book.

E. G.

FOUNDATIONS OF NEUROPSYCHIATRY. By Stanley Cobb. (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, Ltd. Pp. ix + 287. Price 24s. Fifth edition, 1952).

This book first appeared seventeen years ago and, with each successive edition its reputation has become even more firmly established. In this fifth edition Dr. Cobb has included a number of advances in Neuropsychiatry and its related fields which have occurred since the publication of the last edition four years previously. A new chapter on general neurophysiology touches on cybernetic theory and the problem of teleology ; there is a new section dealing with emotional reactions in relation to the autonomic nervous system ; new knowledge concerning functional localization in the cerebral cortex has been included ; and ideas on the ' mind-body ' problem have been enlarged.

In this book Dr. Cobb demonstrates well his capacity for bringing together knowledge derived from related fields, expressing it in simple terms, and integrating it into a meaningful theme. He has not been overambitious in his goal and has written his book essentially for the medical student, aiming to give him basic facts and principles to preface his study of Neurology and Psychiatry. To this end he has presented the fundamentals of neuroanatomy, neurophysiology and neuropathology in clear concise terms.

Cobb believes that to make the student understand the important principles, the teacher must simpliy and schematize. No doubt the basic studies founded on controlled observation lend themselves well to this treatment, but it seems unfortunate that an attempt should have been made to condense the whole of Psychiatry and Psychological medicine into twenty pages, with inevitable distortions and inaccuracies. Perhaps it would have been better to have devoted the

space to what is also basic to clinical Psychiatry, namely, developmental Psychology and Psychopathology.

This book contains much useful information in a very readible form and it can be recommended to those wishing to obtain a basic orientation towards Neuropsychiatry.

BRIAN ACKNER.

THE TRAITORS: THE DOUBLE LIFE OF FUCHS, PONTECORVO AND NUNN MAY. By Alan Moorehead. (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd. 1952. Pp. 222. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

Technically these three men were not traitors, as they gave information, not to an enemy, but to an ally. Of the three men Fuchs has the most psychological interest. The author tells us that 'there have been evidences of insanity in all the members of Fuch's family, except his father and mother'. But the father was erratic The son's conscience was his idol. 'He saw himself as a martyr to it'. All the evil that he did was due to the fact that he knew that he alone was right. The Nazis had done 'more towards the corruption of his mind than anything the Communists ever achieved'. They 'forcel him into hiding and converted him into a bitter and hardened communist'. This was in 1932 when Fuchs was twenty. He fled to England and his 'six years in England had gone a long way towards restoring his self-confidence'. But 'he never knew when to stop'

In Canada, the United States and then in England he continued his double life. Slowly the English way of life told on him and at times he broke with his Russian contacts. He made genuine friends and to the end he was haunted by the thought that his actions would hurt them. At his trial his prosecutor, Mr. Christmas Humphreys said that 'the mind of Fuchs may possibly be unique and create a precedent in the world of psychology'. Fuchs pleaded guilty and 'expected only punishment'. When all was over and Fuchs was in prison there was an 'improvement in his appearance'. It is a grim but fascinating psychological development.

CLAUD MULLINS.

CURRENT TRENDS IN BRITISH PSYCHOLOGY. By C. A. Mace and P. Vernon (Eds.). (London : Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1953. Pp viii + 262. Price 15s.)

This is a collection of twenty papers delivered at the 1951 meeting of the British Association. The first ten consists of mainly descriptive surveys of practical applications of psychology in industry, education and the clinical and social fields. The remainder are mainly theoretical in orientation dealing with conceptual frameworks, methodology, research both current and developing. The book is directed to the intelligent layman as well as the professional psychologist and though it does not claim to be exhaustive it does set out to give 'a fair picture' of the state of psychological work at present.

Delinquency is not covered as a specific area. There is one page of bare description of the duties of psychologists in Prisons and in Borstals and five references in the index, in each case amounting to a mention of the word 'delinquency' in connection with statistical techniques, past research or future possibilities. This gap is somewhat startling, and though many of the papers include delinquents by implication in their treatment of, for example, educational and clinical work, it is not easy to explain the omission away by suggesting

there are no ' current trends ' of psychological importance or that the increasing movement towards an inter-disciplinary approach removes delinquency from a purely psychological survey.

The technical level of the papers is somewhat uneven, probably as a result of the attempt to cater for different kinds of readers. The papers themselves are always concise, lucid and extremely readable.

The book, in short, has not enough direct relevance to recommend it as essential for the main body of delinquency workers though psychologists will find it a pleasant way of keeping vaguely in touch with the work of their professional colleagues in other fields.

R. L. MORRISON.

THE PORTEUS MAZE TEST MANUAL. By S. D. Porteus. (London : Harrap & Co. 1952. Pp. 64. Price 6s.)

It is amazing that a test devised in 1914 should be gaining in popularity in 1953. Although originally intended as a measure of general intelligence the Maze has been little used for this purpose : its reliability was too low to make it practical as a clinical instrument, and it did not correlate highly enough with other accepted measures of intellectual functions. But exactly its relatively low correlations with other tests have been the source of the Maze's revival. It is suggested that the Maze measures some aspects of mental apparatus not covered by other techniques. Whether they are essentially related to social adjustment (as the author believes) is open to question, but it is clear that the test uncovers an element of intelligent behaviour which *is* impaired in many delinquents and which becomes impaired in most cases of ' successful ' neuro-surgery. The test has been recently used in many leucotomy researches. Its use with delinquents has been relatively neglected and there is much to be said for its inclusion in future researches.

T. G.

CURRENT SOCIOLOGY, No. 1. INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIOLOGY. (Paris: UNESCO. 1952. Pp. 83. Price 6s.).

The International Sociological Association, to whom this task was entrusted by Unesco, is to be congratulated upon the publication of this first volume of an International Bibliography of Sociology, in English and French. It is intended to produce in alternate issues bibliographies and trend reports. The present issue contains a classified bibliography covering the first half of the year 1951. As a rule, only titles are given without description of contents. In the section " Social Pathology " there is a sub-section " Crime and Delinquency " in which material published in the B.J.D. is well represented.

H. M.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE RORSCHACH PERSONALITY TEST. By W. Mons. Second Edition. (London : Faber & Faber. 1950. Pp. 176. Price 12s. 6d.)

The new edition of this little book is a clear indication of the success of the first edition. In the era of bulky text-books it is refreshing to find a book which gives as much essential information in so few pages. The exposition is clear, the

method of scoring and analysis practical and easy to follow. The scoring system is similar to that of Klopfer and Kelly, but there are some minor modifications, very useful on the whole.

In spite of the author's close association with the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) the section on delinquency is small and not as convincing as most others. It is a sad truth that the Rorschach Test fails to distinguish between delinquents and non-delinquents, although *some* sub-types of the amorphous mass of offenders do produce specific patterns of responses. In spite of this limitation the test is very useful in delinquency work : it will tell little about an individual's *criminality*, but it will reveal a great deal of his *personality*.

It was gratifying to find that in America Dr. Mons' book has not shared the fate of so many English publications and is actually used as a text-book in good clinical centres.

T. G.

FILM REVIEW

' A 2 Year Old Goes To Hospital '. By James Robertson.

This film was made during the investigations by Dr. John Bowlby and his associates at the Tavistock Clinic of ' The effects on personality development of Separation from the Mother in Early Childhood ' and may therefore be regarded as a ' documentary ' illustrating the thesis of Bowlby's Maternal Care and Mental Health. (W.H.O. Monograph No. 2.) The film was primarily an experiment in recording, in what was felt to be the most objective way possible, the day to day behaviour of a normal child of two when she has to leave home and enter hospital for an operation. The little girl was chosen by the hospital from their waiting list, the only stipulations being that she should have an umbilical hernia, be within 18 months and 2½ years of age and not have been separated from her parents before. She proved to be an intelligent child with a mobile and expressive face. Her previous relation to her parents was good.

The film begins with Laura at home with her parents playing in the garden and then shows her being left by her mother in hospital, given a bath and put to bed. During the subsequent seven days she spent there we see her being examined by the surgeon, given an anæsthetic and visited by her parents. The effects on Laura of the frightening experiences she underwent are brought out most clearly. Naturally, she plainly displayed her longing for her mother, although she happened to be a little girl with unusual powers of self-control. As the duration of her stay increased, however, she began to show signs of turning away from her mother, and took longer and longer to re-establish contact with her when she visited, although she clearly recognized her. This sort of process, when it consolidates during a protracted separation, has been shown to lead to malformation of the personality such as the ' affectionless character ' with which delinquency is often associated. (Bowlby, 44 Juvenile Thieves . . .)

' A 2 year old goes to hospital " achieves its purpose admirably, and skilfully manages to avoid being either painful or sentimental. It deserves the widest possible showing.

R. C. Robson.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett with the co-operation of John C. Spencer, E. Hall Williams and Augusta Bonnard.)

SOCIO-CRIMINOLOGY

DANIEL BELL : 'Crime as an American Way of Life', *The Antioch Review*, 1953, **13,** 131–154.

The whole question of organized crime in America cannot be understood unless one appreciates (1) the distinctive role of organized gambling as a function of a mass consumption economy ; (2) the specific role of various immigrant groups as they one after another became involved in marginal business and crime ; and (3) the relation of crime to the changing character of the urban political machines. As American society became more 'organized' so did the American racketeer. The Kefauver committee failed to understand that the mobsters, like the gamblers, were seeking to become quasi-respectable and establish a place for themselves in American life. The committee was deceived by its own myth of an omnipotent Mafia owing to its failure to understand certain relevant sociological facts about institutionalized crime in relation to the political life of large urban communities in America, in particular the rise of the American Italian community. As in earlier American eras, organized illegality became a stepladder of social ascent.

JACQUELINE H. STRAUS and MURRAY A. STRAUS : 'Suicide, Homicide, and Social Structure in Ceylon', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1953, **58,** 461–469.

Homicide rates in Ceylon are among the highest known, but suicide rates are low. In certain respects this pattern is essentially similar to that observed in Western countries in spite of wide cultural differences. The authors formulate what they call a psycho-cultured explanation in which there are three basic elements : (1) the individual personality, (2) the tensions which could be resolved by homicide or suicide, and varying according to the culture or sub-culture, and (3) the solution which society allows for such conflicts. They suggest that for Ceylon at least the way in which a society is integrated may provide an alternative to the 'death wish' theory in accounting for the difficult problem of the inverse relation of homicide and suicide rates.

THOMAS D. ELIOT : 'A Criminological Approach to the Social Control of International Aggressions', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1953, **58,** 513–518.

In this paper the author traces the analogies which are often drawn between war and crime in an attempt to show how far they are true or false, and how a corrected frame of reference based on a sound theory of social control may prove effective in reducing the evils of wars. If aggressive war is to be defined as crime, then treatment, to be effective, should follow the principles of intelligent criminology and the goals of international welfare rather than those of sentimental patriotic revenge. Mere retribution is self-defeating in both cases.

ERWIN O. SMIGEL : 'Public Attitudes Toward "Chiseling" with reference to Unemployment Compensation', *American Sociological Review*, 1953, **18**, 59–67.

Applying for or taking unemployment compensation illegally is not 'conventional' crime nor is it white collar crime though it is in many ways similar to white collar crime. It has been given the popular title of 'chiseling', that is to say, getting something for nothing. This study presents some information on public attitudes in Bloomington, Indiana, toward the violation of unemployment compensation laws. While most of the respondents to the investigation disapproved of 'chiseling' the government, some variation in attitude was seen to exist. These differences are more clearly affected by three major interrelated factors : ignorance of the law, differing social norms, and differences in socio-economic status. The evidence also bears out the hypothesis that the nearer the individual is to the situation the greater the tendency to approve or at least be indifferent toward illegal behaviour with reference to unemployment compensation.

J. C. S.

FORREST W. LACEY : 'Vagrancy and Other Crimes of Personal Condition', *Harvard Law Review*, May 1953, **66**, 1203–1226.

Mr. Lacey investigates the main characteristics of 'crimes of personal condition', such as vagrancy and prostitution, which are to be found, to use his own words, 'not in proscribed action or inaction, but in the accused's having a certain personal condition or being a person of a specified character'. He discusses also the respects in which such crimes of personal condition differ from the usual criminal offences in terms of procedure, evidence and substantive law. Apart from the wide rights of arrest for vagrancy, he considers that the most noteworthy features of these crimes are the admissibility of evidence of reputation of the accused, and the general insufficiency of one isolated act to create the offence. There is also a constitutional problem involved in such laws of the restriction of individual liberty.

The article ends by saying that 'there are to-day, in times of almost full employment, thousands of idle, homeless derelicts.... Do vagrancy statutes afford a method of dealing with this class of persons? The answer is obviously no. The police make no real effort to enforce vagrancy laws against this group, and a night arrest and a morning release is the typical lot of those of this class who do attract police attention. There is increasing recognition that punitive measures are useless in dealing with these persons and they should neither be classed nor treated as criminals'.

E. H. W.

LAW

'Forcible and Statutory Rape : An Exploration of the Operation and Objectives of the Consent Standard', *Yale Law Journal*, December 1952, **62**, 55–83.

This is a detailed analysis of the operation in the United States of the crime of forcible rape and the crimes of statutory rape such as carnal knowledge of a girl below a certain age, with particular reference to the difference in the attitude

of the law towards consent. There is also a sociological discussion of the place of the consent standard in the social structure, and a plea for more frequent use of psychiatric advice in investigating the woman's attitude to what happened. It is suggested that the crime of statutory rape is open to grave criticism because 'neither the policies underlying the law nor public sentiment warrant the imposition of rape penalties solely because of the girl's youth'. E. H. W.

PENOLOGY AND TREATMENT

MARGARET TILLEY: 'Holloway Prison' *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work* (March) 1953, **7,** 30–36.

This article by the psychiatric social worker at Holloway discusses the life of the prison in the light of Joan Henrey's book 'Who lie in Gaol'. As regards the inaccuracies contained in the book it is significant that not one of them is on the credit side. Her comments on the large percentage of arrivals at Holloway put into a padded cell within a few days is incorrect, while the treatment of the first offender is a problem on which official policy is far from complacent. She is confused about the distinction between medical and disciplinary action. Of the author's two months in the prison all but three days were spent in the hospital. Miss Tilley emphasizes the ambivalent attitude towards prisons on the part of the community and the need for a public which is better informed.

AN APPROVED SCHOOL HEADMASTER: 'Is the Teacher to Blame? Young Delinquents in School', *Approved School Gazette,* 1953, **4,** 108–109.

This is a reprint of an article in *The Times Educational Supplement.* The author remains anonymous. It is often argued in public discussions that if teachers would tackle illiteracy effectively, delinquency would diminish. The writer disagrees with this statement though he would strongly favour increased provision for the backward child. The history of the approved school child suggests that too little has been done by too many. The public wrongly assume that the delinquent will react in the same way as more normal children. The reports from schoolteachers on delinquents suggest that too little is known about them.

EDWARD H. STULLKEN: 'Schools and the Delinquency Problem', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science,* 1953, **43,** 563–577.

This paper was read before the Illinois Academy of Criminology by the Principal of the Montefiore Special School in Chicago. He sees the school as having a central place among all the agencies that affect the ideas and activities of children. There are three modes of attack on the problem of delinquency; (a) through the regular classroom teacher, (b) through the psychologist, the counsellor and the social worker, (c) through the organization of special classes and schools. An effective system of follow-up in the case of the pupil leaving the special school is required. Early diagnosis is essential.

GERHARD O. W. MUELLER : 'Resocialization of the Young Adult Offender in Switzerland', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 1953, **43,** 578–591.

Swiss law, more particularly the law of the Canton Zurich, contains excellent provisions for an expedient administration to combat criminality in the making. The outstanding part of the Federal Criminal Code of 1937 is the treatment of children and juveniles. The work–education institution at Uitikon under the supervision of the Zurich Department of Justice is described.

SYMPOSIUM : 'The Sexual Psychopath', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 1953, **43,** 592–621.

This symposium, in which ten psychiatrists participate, is concerned with Dr. Benjamin Karpman's reformulation of the problem of the sex offender in the 1951 Journal. Dr. R. D. Rabinovitch suggests the following major aetiological groupings: gross biological or mental illness problems ; cultural rather than essentially psychiatric factors ; early genital stimulation or indirect stimulation ; inhibition of normal sexual interests and experimentation ; and problems of identification – neurotic reactions to disturbed relationships without specific sexual trauma. He points out that in a group of homosexual adolescents fear of growing in the image of a negative parent is a frequent finding. We are still only at the threshold of a real understanding of these problems. J. C. S.

SOL RUBIN : 'Protecting the Child in the Juvenile Court', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, November–December 1952, **43,** 425–440.

The writer considers that the next step in regard to the juvenile court must be to develop still further the protective role which is in fact its constitutional basis, and argues that it has become necessary to protect the child from abuse of power by the court itself, while at the same time he admits that this protection is difficult to provide without obstructing the treatment process. With these considerations in mind, he examines the jurisdiction of the juvenile court in the United States, the detention of children before the court, the procedure, and finally the treatment process itself, in order to point out existing provisions which require stressing more and to suggest others which would provide additional protection to the child. Creative law can still make a contribution to means of protecting the child in trouble, not only by taking him into this court, but by protecting him in the court.

WILLIAM J. CURRAN : 'Hospitalization of the Mentally Ill', *North Carolina Law Review*, April 1953, **31,** 274–298.

GRAEME FINLAY, M.P.: 'The Flogging Bill in Retrospect', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, March 14, 1953, **117,** 165–7.

By defeating Wing-Commander Bullus' Bill on flogging by 159 votes to 63 the House of Commons decisively rejected the re-introduction of corporal punishment. The Bill is here reviewed in the setting of the recommendations of the Cadogan Committee on Corporal Punishment, which reported in 1938 (Cmd. 5684).

'Crime and Punishment', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, June, 13, 1953, **117**, 376–7.

This anonymous contribution by a probation officer comments unfavourably on the present law and practice relating to pre-sentence inquiries into the offender's background. It is argued that a proper investigation is essential for the wise disposal of the lawbreaker. E. H. W.

Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie. (Bruxelles: Palais de Justice.) March and April, 1953. Pp. 523–699.

We have no counterpart in this country to this excellent monthly journal, published in Brussels under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice in co-operation with the Belgian universities. Furthermore, it has already been in existence for thirty-three years. The range of subjects which it covers is very wide, but the approach is in the main juridical rather than clinical It gives lucid accounts of the purpose and value of Criminal Laws recently passed, such as those bearing on prostitution for example, and of closely reasoned humanitarian arguments for proposed changes of attitude and judicial procedure. While the Editorial Board is largely drawn from Belgium, the subject matter now derives from the countries comprising Benelux, and also France. Therefore it serves as a real mine of lucid information of the varying trends of an important area of the Continent. Of special interest in this respect are the three national reports presented to the Benelux Penitentiary Commission on 'The Social and Psycho-Medical Examination of Delinquents'. In consequence it was recommended that a specialist team be created not only for investigation of the accused, but also for advisory purposes, at the end of their sentences. One can only agree with Professor E. de Greeff, of Louvain University, that the recommended project carries its own dangers, if utilized other than as a preliminary instrument of research.

'Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie' (Bruxelles: Palais de Justice) May, 1953. Pp. 703–816.

The major part of this issue is concerned with the laws and professional attitudes in Belgium relating to induced abortion, both legal and illegal. It is made clear that the only defensible reason for legal abortion is that of desperate physical danger to the mother's life. Serious physical threat is not enough, especially if it cannot be guaranteed that abortion is not in itself a specific to the woman's recovery. It is instanced that even tuberculosis need no longer serve as a legitimate reason for termination of pregnancy since the introduction of Streptomycin. Extremely heavy fines can be imposed as well as severe prison sentences, not only on the abortionist but also on the woman, especially if married. It is also felt that the husband ought to be severely fined if aware of the circumstances, and that it might prove a deterrent if the crime and punishment were so posted that the neighbourhood would know. Anyone practising abortion with any kind of pretensions to anatomical knowledge apparently merits more severe punishment than the entirely ignorant. The sale of contraceptives is illegal, and also laboratory pregnancy tests unless ordered by a physician. The reason for the latter injunction is to try and stop women knowing they are pregnant, before it is too late to resort to less rather than more dangerous expedients. In the section quoting foreign law and practice, it is stated that in Anglo-Saxon law, anyone (presum-

ably a qualified doctor) can perform a therapeutic abortion, who considers it to be necessary (the degree of latitude implied in this brief statement is incorrect).

REVUE DE DROIT PENAL ET DE CRIMINOLOGIE. (Bruxelles: Palais de Justice.) June 1953.

This number is of especial interest in that Belgium holds empire over a rich, peaceful and well-administered colony, the Belgian Congo. The Revue contains two articles on its colonial criminal laws and penalties. It is made clear that, while they represent a modification of the Belgian criminal code to suit local African tradition and custom, their purpose is, on the one hand, to try and stamp out cruel, vindictive and superstitious practices which cause suffering to Africans, and, on the other, to make it safe for the European to be the owner of property. In setting out categories of crimes against the person, a great many facts of anthropological importance are delineated. It is made clear throughout that the Belgian code has had to be rendered much more elastic in order to give real justice to the African, i.e., justice in the Congo is not an absolute or rigid system of punitive rules. Criticism is admirably frank, in that attention is drawn to the difference in application of law to favour the white man, and to the lack of residential provision for dangerous lunatics and young delinquents, other than prison. There also seems to be a refreshing awareness that the white man's punishments are not regarded as a mark of shame but only as some kind of unavoidable penalty.

A. B.

REFERENCES

J. E. MCGINNIS : 'Delinquency in Women', *California Medicine*, (April) 1953, **78,** 299–302. (Conclusion.)

G. DAUMEZON and P. PAUMELLE : Délinquance chez une topectomisée. *Annales de Médecine Légale et de Criminologie*, (January–March) 1953, **33,** 56–62. (Comment ; discussion.)

B. HILL : 'An Experiment in treating Seriously Disturbed Juvenile Delinquent Boys', *Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement*, 1953, **27**[1], 105–23. (Discussion.)

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G. E. GARDNER : 'Psychiatric Referrals for Delinquent Children', *Public Health Reports, Washington*, (June) 1953, **68,** 578–82.

H. M. GALLOT : 'Les facteurs étiologiques de la délinquance infantile', *Revue du Praticien*, (June 11) 1953, **3,** 1219–20, 1223. (Summary.)

A. BROUSSEAU, Y. GUIGEN, and J. BROCHERIOU : 'Perversions sexuelles et lobotomie. Un échec rapide. Un succès maintenu depuis plus de deux années', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, (May) 1953, **111,** ann., t. **i,** 665–9. (Two case-reports ; summary.)

L. BOVET : *Psychiatric aspects of juvenile delinquency*. Geneva: World Health Organization Monograph series No. 1. 1951. P. 73.

C. A. FORD : Institutional rearing as a factor in delinquency. Woods School Conference on Education. Proceedings 4th Conference 1938, pp. 40–5. Abstract 335 in *Juvenile Delinquency : a critical annotated bibliography*. Compiled by P. S. de Q. Cabot. New York : The H.W. Wilson Company. 1946. See also Abstracts 260, 253, and others.

Report of the Care of Children Committee. London : H.M. Stationery Office. 1946.

Handbook of child guidance. Ed. Ernest Harms. New York City : Child Care Publications. 1947.

W. S. CRAIG : *Child and adolescent life in health and disease* : a study in social pædiatrics. Edinburgh : E. & S. Livingstone Ltd. 1946, p. 180.

We have received the following publications and reprints from *Dr. M. Bachet, Directeur de l'Annexe Psychiatrique des Prisons de Fresnes*, which have been added to the Library of the Institute :

M. BACHET, Mlle. FLEURY, and C. WEISS : ' L'Annexe Psychiatrique des Prisons de Fresnes '. 1952. Pp. 110.

M. BACHET : ' Sur la fréquence de l'énurésie chez les enfants et adolescents auteurs de vols '. Extrait des *Archives Françaises de Pédiatrie*, 1948, **5,** No. 3, Pp. 4.

M. BACHET : ' Confrontation entre les données statistiques montrant les rapports qui existent entre l'énurésie et la cleptomanie d'une part et les théories qui apparentent l'énurésie et la cleptomanie à la sexualité d'autre part '. Extrait de *L'Encéphale*, 1949, No. 2, 59–73.

M. BACHET : ' The Concept of Encephaloses Criminogènes (Criminogenic Encephalosis) ', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1951, **21,** 794–9.

M. BACHET, C. WEISS, and J. MARCHAIS : ' Problèmes posés par les antécédents de captivité de guerre chez les auteurs de certaines variétés de délits '. Extrait des *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, (April) 1952, No. 4. Pp. 6.

BACHET : ' Congrès de Criminologie de Rome. Rapports entre le système nerveux instinctivo végétatif et la criminogenèse '. Extrait du *Bulletin de la Société Générale des Prisons*, (April–June) 1952, **76,** No. 4–6, Pp. 8.

M. BACHET : ' La notion d'encéphalose criminogène '. Séances de Travail de la Section de Biologie. N.D. Pp. 323–30.

W. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sirs,

May I comment upon Dr. G. M. Carstairs' article : ' The Case of Thakur Khuman Singh : A Culture-conditioned Crime ', published in your issue of July, 1953, in which the author attributes the murder of Amar Singh and his young pregnant wife to the culture-pattern?

The complex structure of Indian social institutions, such as the caste system,

the joint-family organization, the status of a woman and a young man, etc., needs careful study for the formulation of valid empirical theories. These institutions are not easily understandable even to an Indian. Though they appear to have more or less the same characteristics, their structure varies slightly from province to province in accordance with the degree of modern civilization attained. Hence it is difficult to say whether there is anything like a distinct Rajput culture at present, or, for that matter, any other particular caste culture. Each caste in mediæval times, it is true, observed certain distinct customs. These customs, however, are not observed in a rigid form at present.

Like the big landlords and village head-men, Jagirdhars, in former times, enjoyed special social status and exercised their autocratic rule over less privileged persons. It is still not uncommon to find village aristocrats in the backward parts of India who are the spokesmen of the village and who often deal with local disputes and misuse their economic and social status for personal ends. The impact of western civilization, the struggle for freedom and the birth of popular Governments in the provinces have very greatly diminished the unquestioned authority of these aristocrats. It is doubtful whether the Jagirdhars of Rajasthan still enjoy the same privileges.

Many of the social and cultural conditions, such as the divine obligation of the Rajputs to be rulers and warriors, readiness to defend their religion, the undue importance attached to their birth and the preciousness of their life, were the privileges once enjoyed by the mediæval Rajputs but these factors no longer govern the life of the modern Rajputs. Their claim of caste superiority, their right to eat meat and their observance of 'dasara' ('dashera') festival are not the monopolistic social privileges of the Rajaputs alone but are shared by a considerable section of Hindus belonging to different social orders. The claim of caste-superiority is still a dominant characteristic of Hindu Society which has stamped the people of different castes with social inequalities. The caste prejudices, particularly in South India, are still sometimes exhibited in most aggressive forms. These factors should not be mistaken for the exclusive cultural background of the Rajputs.

Tensions between father and son together with emphasis on the ideal of manhood and the deliberate concealment of fatherly affection were, perhaps, the customs of the mediæval Rajputs which are not prevalent among modern Rajputs.

Moreover, the child's deference to the father's authority, the younger brother's deference to his elder brother and Amar Singh's wife's deference to Khuman Singh's authority are not the exclusive customs of the Rajputs but are common to all Hindus. Hindu culture demands that all the young people in the family must respect not only the father who is the head of the family but also the other elders. It is not uncommon to find young educated Indians who respect their uneducated elder brothers and, as a mark of respect, they do not smoke in the presence of their elders.

It is important to point out the status of women in Hindu Society. A woman enjoys a lower status in Hindu Society and is expected to be gentle and obedient. Hindu culture does not encourage her to assert herself or repudiate the authority of the elders. Her position, particularly in a joint family, is very awkward as her behaviour is constantly watched by all other members of the family. Her embarrassing position often induces her to assert herself for greater freedom. She

does it silently by persuading her husband to set up a separate household. She is generally suspected to be the originator of joint family disputes. On her arrival as the wife of a member of the joint family, a feud starts in the family which culminates in a division of the family and the property. There is no wonder if the misunderstanding between Khuman Singh and Amara Singh started with the arrival of the latter's wife. Experiencing this situation, Khuman Singh could not any longer conceal his resentment against his junior sister-in-law. After killing his brother he might have, in a fit of rage, murdered her thinking she was the originator of the dispute.

Khuman Singh's act, however, is in striking contrast to Rajput or Hindu culture. Hindu philosophy abhors the killing of a woman, especially a pregnant woman, as an abominable sin, however wicked she may be. On the other hand, protection of a pregnant woman, particularly among the Rajputs, is a sacred duty (' Hindu Dharma '). Nevertheless some cases of murder do occur generally when women are involved in sexual promiscuity. It is rare to encounter the case of the murder of a pregnant woman by her senior brother-in-law.

The other important factors, like Khuman Singh's status as the head of the family and the division of the family and the property resulting in the loss of income and authority, are the invariable consequences that follow the division of any Indian joint family and cannot be the causes for release of ' unmeasured aggressive impulses upon the source of the provocation '.

The author's claim that the Rajputs accepted the crime with calmness as ' it conformed to the Rajput pattern of unlimited authority exercised by one's social rank ' is incredible. The lapse of four and a half years and the changed political and economic conditions must have directed their attention to the more urgent problems such as the shortage of food and cloth. To the extremely backward Rajputs it is an incident of the forgotten past in the light of the present pressing problems. It is highly doubtful that the Rajputs accepted the crime, at the time of the murders, as calmly as they did at the time of the author's visit.

Dr. Carstairs' statement that the crime was due to the culture pattern, that: ' if a man like Khuman Singh were impelled to commit a murder, then this is the sort of murder one would expect of him to commit '—raises some important issues, namely, (1) why do not all the Rajputs having the same socio-cultural background commit the same type of crime? and (2) how does the author account for similar cases of double murder occurring among different castes of India? Had the author observed, on a comparative basis, the economic, social and cultural conditions prevalent in the different parts of India, he would not have, perhaps, attributed the crime to the exclusive cultural background of the Rajputs. It is, perhaps, his unconscious over-reliance on the boastful accounts furnished by local Rajputs that has led him to treat as exclusively Rajput what are, in fact, general Hindu social institutions.

In spite of these shortcomings, the author should be congratulated for presenting more or less a typical Indian sociological background which often breeds violent crime. As a psychiatrist the author would have been perhaps justified in attributing the crime more to the psychopathic personality of Khuman Singh than to his cultural background.

Yours faithfully,
T. THIPPESWAMI.

Dr. Carstairs writes : My article did not claim to give an exhaustive analysis of the motivation of this crime : still less did it suggest that so violent and unusual an event was a *necessary* consequence of the cultural environment. Instead, just as a neurotic breakdown can reveal the points of stress in an individual's emotional development, so this crime was used to illustrate certain foci of tension in the offender's community. Mr. Thippeswami rightly points out that Rajputs partake of a common Hindu system of values : but they do so with a selective emphasis on certain elements which is peculiar to themselves. Those elements which I describe (and the boastfulness to which Mr. Thippeswami refers) are matters not of history but of contemporary observation.

A Rajasthani myself by birth, I am familiar with the epithets of ' mediæval ' and ' backward ' which this State frequently receives. It is very conservative, and the Rajputs more so than any. When a case of *suti* occurred there in 1951, it was deplored by educated Brahmans and Banias in my village, but applauded by all the Rajputs. Attitudes of mind are slower to change than political systems, and it was upon the former that my study was directed.

Week-end Course for Psychiatrists on ' The Aggressive Offender : Juvenile and Adult '

A course for psychiatrists was organized by the I.S.T.D. at Roffey Park during the week-end June 26th–28th, 1953. The subject of the lectures and discussions was ' The Aggressive Offender '. The course was attended by 23 psychiatrists, of whom 16 were delegates of Regional Hospital Boards and Hospital Management Committees. They were drawn from many different parts of England, Scotland, and Wales.

The conference began on Saturday morning with a lecture on the adult aggressive offender by Dr. David Stafford-Clark, followed by a Brains Trust in which both Dr. Stafford-Clark and Dr. Maberly took part. In the course of his lecture Dr. Stafford-Clark discussed some of the knowledge gained during his research into the psychopath in prison, in which he had collaborated, and of which an account was published in the *British Journal for Delinquency* for October, 1951. Although he had reminded his audience that the aggressive psychopath was only part of a larger group of aggressive offenders, a major part of the discussion following the lecture was devoted to the problem of the psychopath.

In the afternoon Dr. Alan Maberly followed with a lecture on the young aggressive offender. He pointed out how much more difficult was the classification of the juvenile than of the adult, and he commented on some of the characteristics of the young psychopath. Another Brains Trust followed.

On Sunday morning Dr. Spencer, who was acting as host for the week-end, lectured on the social background of the violent criminal. In the discussion afterwards particular significance was attached by members to the question of employment and of the gang. He was followed by Miss Chaplin, psychologist at the Portman clinic, on the subject of clinical testing. Miss Chaplin began by observing how very few of the young Stepney criminals described by the previous lecturer found their way to the Department of the London Hospital where she herself had been working.

The final lecture was given by Miss Ethel Perry, Child Psychotherapist at the Portman Clinic. She described the treatment of the young aggressive offender in family groups, illustrating her talk from case material, with special reference to four delinquents who had attended the clinic for play therapy.

JOHN SPENCER.

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